



## PREFACE.

The translation of the Bhagavadgītā which appears in this volume was originally undertaken merely as an exercise in versification, without any view to its ever being published. After considerable portions of it had been prepared in this way, it occurred to me, that it might be useful to print and publish it, as there had been no rendering of the Gītā into English verse. I thought that a metrical translation would be, in sundry respects, a better representative of the Sanskrit original than a translation into prose, even though the latter might in its own class be entitled to a higher rank than the former in its class. Under this view I finished the translation, and submitted it for revision to my very able friend Mr. Abaji Vishnu Kāthavate. He did the work of revision with a fulness and patience for which I cannot sufficiently thank him. Most of his corrections and suggestions—indeed, I may say, all except, perhaps, four or five—have been after consideration adopted by me. And I would add, that though the responsibility for all the errors in this work must undoubtedly be mine, a great deal of such value as the translation may be found to possess, whether in respect of accuracy of rendering or otherwise, is due to Mr. Kāthavate's labours.

One point there is as to which I have not acted upon my friend's suggestion, though I have felt, and still feel, considerable diffidence as to the propriety of the course which I have pursued. Mr. Kāthavate thinks, that our native mode of pronouncing names ending in 'a' as if they ended in a consonant is quite incorrect and ought not to be stereotyped. I fully appreciate the force of this. Nevertheless I find it very difficult to reconcile myself to the outlandish pronunciation which results if the suggestion is adopted. In my difficulty as to how to proceed, I turned to the excellent metrical translation of the Rāmāyaṇa by Mr. R. T. H. Griffiths. But there I found on one and the same page two such lines as the following :—

"The As'vamedh was finished quite"

And "And Dasaratha ere they went." (Vol. I. p. 97.)

Nay we have even such lines as these :—

"Rāma and Lākshman next obtained" (I. 129)

And "Yea, Rāma Bharat's self exceeds." (I. 378.)

Similarly in Mr. Muir's metrical translations at the close of the Second Volume of his Sanskrit Texts, we read:—

"I know thee Rāvaṇ who thou art."

and a few lines further on,

"And won great Rāma for her lord."

Obviously, both Mr. Muir and Mr. Griffiths have scanned the names as the exigencies of the verse required in each particular case.

"I have taken a somewhat different course. The following lines will exemplify the principles I have adopted:—

(I.) The prince Duryodhan to his teacher went.

(II.) And Dhṛishṭadyumna, Saubhadra of large arms.

(III.) Who meditates on Brahma in the act.

It will be seen that where the consonant preceding the 'a' is a simple consonant (I.), the 'a' is treated as having no value for purposes of scansion and is omitted in the spelling. Where it is preceded by a conjunct consonant (II. and III.), the 'a' is pronounced in all cases, except a few in which the following word begins with a vowel, and the 'a' coalesces with that vowel in scansion. As remarked already, this is not quite a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, but I think it is a convenient one, and is based, at all events, on a uniform principle.

It may be useful to add, that the whole poem is in the form of a dialogue between Sanjaya and Dhṛitarāshtra; and the speeches of Kṛishna and Arjun are merely reported by the former to the latter. The prefixing of the names of Kṛishna and Arjun does to a certain extent disguise this fact, and in some of the speeches in the first two chapters the names have by mistake not been prefixed, though one might expect them there according to the rule followed in the subsequent chapters. But I do not think that there will be any misunderstanding in practice caused by these circumstances.

In my translation I have nearly always followed the interpretations of the commentators, Śankar, Śridhar, and Madhusūdana. Wherever the text seemed to me to require explanation, I have given it in footnotes. Additional explanation, where it seemed to me on further consideration to be necessary, has been added in the Notes and Illustrations, in preparing which I had the advantage of consulting a commentary by Rāghavendra Yati—a writer of a different school from Śankar and the rest. I have to thank my friend Mr. Vyākaṇṭa Rāmchandra of Puna for his kindness in lending me his

copy of that commentary. I can, of course, scarcely expect that there are no material deficiencies in the notes, but I have endeavoured to give as full explanations as I thought necessary. I am sorry that by an oversight some explanations which ought to have appeared in footnotes were not given there ; but I have added them now in the Notes and Illustrations.

With regard to the Introduction I may state, that the nucleus of it was a paper read by me before the Students' Literary and Scientific Society in December 1873. But the expansions and additions have been so considerable that it may be said to be an altogether new essay. As to the questions discussed in it concerning the first introduction of Christianity into India, and the translations of the New Testament in the first centuries of the Christian Era, and kindred matters, I need scarcely say, that not having bestowed any special study on them except for the purposes of this essay, I should have been glad to avoid the discussion of them. But this I could not do, as they furnish a very important link in the chain of reasoning by which Dr. Lorinser supports his theory. "Supernatural Religion" and "Literature and Dogma" have evoked very considerable discussion of important points connected with the early history of Christianity and of the New Testament, and I have availed myself of some of the points made in that discussion. But my treatment of the subject is avowedly very far from full. It seems to me to be enough for my argument, if it can be shown—and this I think will not be denied—that there is a real and *bona fide* difference of opinion among persons qualified to judge in the matter, as to some of the points which Dr. Lorinser takes for granted. This fact, coupled with the circumstance noted at the top of p. xxiv. of the essay, appears to me to fortify the position I have taken up, nearly as much as a complete study of the whole discussion on the age and authenticity of the Gospels could have enabled me to fortify it.

As the sheets were passing through the press, some discussion was going on in the literary world concerning various points connected with the early history of Christianity, parts of which have a bearing upon the subject discussed by me. But I can only give a general reference to it, as I was not able to study it sufficiently to consider the points of contact between that discussion on the one hand and this essay on the other. There is also a paper by Dr. Muir in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. IV. p. 77, the conclusion of which seems, at least in some measure, to coincide with ours, which we may express in the following words of Dr. Strauss :— "However high may be the place of Jesus among those who have

shown to mankind most purely and most plainly what it ought to be, still he was not the first to do so nor will he be the last. But as he had predecessors in Israel and Hellas, on the Ganges and the Oxus, so also he has not been without followers," (Life of Jesus. Vol. II. 437).

## CONTENTS.

-xxx-

Introductory Essay.....	i.—cxix,
Chapter I. Arjun-Vishad.....	1
Do. II. Sankhya-yog .....	6
Do. III. Karma-yog .....	16
Do. IV. Jñān-yog .....	26
Do. V. Kārmasamnyās-yog .....	38
Do. VI. Ātmasamnyās-yog .....	87
Do. VII. Vijnān-yog .....	145
Do. VIII. Aksharaparabrahma-yog .....	50
Do. IX. Rājavidyārājaguhya-yog .....	56
Do. X. Vibhūti-yog .....	63
Do. XI. Visvarūpadarsan .....	70
Do. XII. Bhakti-yog .....	78
Do. XIII. Kshetrakshetrajnavibhāg-yog .....	81
Do. XIV. Guṇatrayavibhāg-yog .....	88
Do. XV. Pernahottamaaprapti-yog .....	92
Do. XVI. Daivatasampadvibhāg-yog .....	96
Do. XVII. S'radhītrayavibhāg-yog .....	100
Do. XVIII. Mokshasamnyās-yog .....	150
Notes and Illustrations.....	121



## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. IV, line 26. Add note 'But see p. xciv. infra.'

P. V, last line. For 'I' read 'we.'

P. XXI, l. 26. After 298 add 377.

P. XXIV, l. 30. Add 'also that cited at p. lxiv. infra.'

P. XXX, l. 14. Add note 'See Meghadūt St. 15.'

P. XLV, l. 22. Delete the words 'are something which.'

P. LIV, l. 6. For 'not not sweet to do' read 'not sweet to do' and in l. 11, after 'next' insert 'passage.'

P. LVII, l. 15. For 'believe' read 'maintain.'

P. LXXV, l. 82. Add 'also Thomson's Gītā, Introd. p. xxvi.'

P. LXXXVI, l. 24. Add after 236 'XII. 5 et seq.' And in l. 26 'Also Lalit Vistar 159 and Müller's Enc. Sans. Lit. 517.'

P. LXXXIX, l. 24. After 'Tyndall's' insert a comma.

P. LXXXII, l. 28. Add 'Vol. IV. 125 and Ind. Ant. Vol. IV, 81.'

P. LXXXVIII, l. 1. On 'veneration' add note 'See Kādambarī p. 127. (Tārān, Ed.) and other passages.'

P. LXXXIX, l. 16. On 'Sābar Svāmi' add note 'See Colebrooke Essays I. 297-8.'

P. CXVII, l. 7. For 'allowable in the Classical Literature' read 'allowed by the strict rules of grammar.'

P. CXVI, l. 6. For 'Manu and the Gītā' read 'the Gītā and Manu.'

P. CXVIII, l. 4. For 'set' read 'put'.

P. 4 l. 12. For 'my kin. Oh Krishna!' read 'my kinsmen. Krishna!'

P. 5,, 4. For 'treachery' read 'injury.'

P. 6,, 15. For 'wise' read 'good.'

P. 8,, 18. After 22 add '(line 708.)'

P. 7,, 27. For 'distinguish' read 'interpret accurately.'

P. 13,, 22. After 53 add (line 300); in l. 29 after 21 add (lines 1035 and 1171).

P. 13,, 16. Add 'See Mann I. 26.'

P. 15,, 31. Add 'Comp. line 1639.'

P. 16,, 22. Add 'see Wilson's Essays Vol. III. p. 130 and note.'

P. 17,, 33. After 27 add (line 450).

P. 18,, 27. Add see line 2010.

P. 19,, 22. Add after 60 (line 2239).

P. 21,, 16. Add 'Compare Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇ Pref. p. 4 note.'

P. 22 l. 30. Add after 9 (line 651 *et seq.*)

P. 24 „ 23. After nature, add 'is'.

P. 28 „ 19. Add after 13 '(line 539)'; in l. 20 after 14 '(lines 540-42)'; in l. 28 after 62 '(line 329)'; and in l. 29 after 24 '(lines 749 and 820).'

P. 29 „ 27. After 9 add (line 396).

P. 31 „ 12. For 'thus' read 'this.'

P. 32 „ 27. Add 'See line 659; last line, for 13 read '45 (line 271)'.

P. 33 „ 28. For '2 *et seq.*' read '3 *et seq.* (line 2116).'

P. 34 „ 7. For 'touched' read 'stained.' On l. 17 add note 'S'vetā-vatar III. 18' and in line 32 after 30 add (line 461).

P. 35 „ 20. For 'and Madhusūdan say' read 'says.' In l. 23 before एकान्ते add आरेयाऽपाद्यम्.

P. 37 „ 23. For 1037 read 1035.

P. 38 „ 29. After 770 add 'and line 389.'

P. 41 „ 7. After 'which' insert 'too.'

P. 42. The notes \* and † should interchange places.

P. 45 „ 11. For 'some alone' read 'only some.'

P. 48 „ 20. For 1860 read 1866.

P. 49 „ 38. For 1671 read 1675 and for 1623, in l. 34, 1827.

P. 53 „ 21. For 2078 read 2061.

P. 54 „ 27. Add 'and Manu I. 52'; in l. 31 for 1870 read 1876.

P. 58 „ 33. After 'deluding' add 'But see Kirt. XIV. 19.'

P. 61 „ 25. For 1978 read 1986.

P. 65 „ 24. For 2320 read 2307.

P. 68 „ 20. For 'St. 33 S'ankar' read 'St. 33 (line 1330) S'ridhar.'

P. 70 „ 28. Add 'comp. S'ankar's note at foot of page 116.'

P. 72 „ 3. For 'with the' read 'His.'

P. 74 „ 16. For 'first' read 'chief.'

P. 88 „ 4. For 'reach' read 'reached.'

P. 95 „ 31. For 2322 read 2305.

P. 96 „ 26. For 2324 read 2307.

P. 117 „ 20. For Chhāndogyopanishad read S'vetā-vataropanishad.

Some minor errata, and some errors of punctuation &c., have been omitted from the above list.

## INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

It is proposed in the present essay to review the question of the originality and antiquity of the Bhagavadgītā. We have here considered that question mainly with reference to the theory advanced by Dr. F. Lorinser in the Appendix to his "*Die Bhagavadgītā*," which has been translated into English for the *Indian Antiquary*. It appears to us, however, that the investigation of the question, if confined within the limits marked out in Dr. Lorinser's Appendix, will be altogether imperfect. And accordingly we shall endeavour in the present essay not only to discuss the points taken by Dr. Lorinser, but also other points, which are very material in this investigation, but which have not received due, or indeed any, consideration at Dr. Lorinser's hands.

And first, it will be convenient to state in the form of distinct propositions those conclusions of Dr. Lorinser's inquiry, with which we are here primarily concerned. As far as practicable, I use Dr. Lorinser's own words, as they appear in an English dress in the *Indian Antiquary*. His propositions, then, are these :—

- I. On the one hand it is certain that the Bhagavadgītā dates after Buddha.\*
- II. On the other hand its composition must be attributed to a period terminating several centuries after the commencement of the Christian Era.†
- III. It can be sufficiently proved that the composer of the Bhagavadgītā knew and used the New Testament.‡

---

\* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II. 283a.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid* 284a.

IV. The date after which the Gita could not have been composed must be left an open question till we are certain when S'ankaracharya lived.\*

Such are the propositions to which Dr. Lorinser's theory about the Gita may be reduced. We shall now address ourselves to the consideration of them in their order.

And first, as to the Bhagavadgita dating after Buddha. On this point, Dr. Lorinser feels no hesitation in using so strong a word as "certain." But although I may once more expose myself to the charge of not being "sufficiently acquainted" with what is dignified with the appellation of "the present state of scientific research" on this point, I must humbly inquire—How has this been rendered "certain"? Where has it been proved? And by whom has it been proved? Dr. Lorinser himself has shown no grounds for his position. He has not thought fit even to follow the ordinary practice of giving in a note the references to the authorities on which he relies. Speaking for myself, I confess, I am quite unprepared to accept this proposition of Dr. Lorinser as "certain," and the mere *ipse dixit* of Dr. Lorinser, or for the matter of that, of any one else, will not be enough to convince me of it. The only argument upon the point, which I am aware of, is one to be derived from a statement contained in Professor H. H. Wilson's Review of Schlegel's edition of the Bhagavadgita. Commenting on Gita XVI. 7, the Professor observes as follows:—"It is clear from the subsequent passage that the Buddhas are especially intended as the beings of the demoniacal order."† Now it need scarcely be said that if this were correct, it would be conclusive. But it is not correct. For mark what follows.

\* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, 283a.

† *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. III. 150.

'S'ankara,' Professor Wilson goes on to say, "states them to be the members of the Lokāyatika sect, which was a division of the Buddhists." Now remarking parenthetically, that not only S'ankar, but also Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and S'rīdhar Svāmī, explain the passage as alluding to the Lokāyatikas, I must point out, that Professor Wilson has fallen into error in speaking of the Lokāyatikas as a division of the Buddhists. And his learned Editor, Dr. Reinhold Rost, shows himself to be of this opinion by putting a Quare against the Professor's remark. The Lokāyatikas, as every reader of Mādhab's Sarvadars'anasangraha is aware, are in truth identical with the Chārvāks or Materialists, a sect essentially different from the Buddhists. And the conclusion, therefore, seems to me to follow, that Professor Wilson, in speaking of the allusion to the Buddhists as clear, was himself clearly committing a mistake. But further, while I concede, that the doctrines alluded to in the passage under discussion are very like those of the Lokāyatikas, still it seems to me that they do not appear there in that developed and definite form in which they appear even in the work of Brīhaspati, as we know it from the extracts in the Sarvadars'anasangraha.\* That work exhibits them, I think, in a more advanced and fully developed form, and probably therefore belongs to a considerably later age, than the Bhagavadgītā. Now Brīhaspati appears to have been the first author of a systematic Lokāyatik work, and the Bhag

---

\* First section *passim*. Madhusūdana's and S'rīdhar's commentaries on Gītā XVI. 11. contain quotations from Brīhaspati not in verse but in sūtras. And this was probably the oldest form of Brīhaspati's work. What is the relation to it of the work cited from by Mādhab? I have no access to either the sūtras or the verses in original, and cannot answer the question. The argument in the text must, therefore, be taken subject to considerable allowances.

Tikā alluded to in Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*\* was very probably a commentary on Brīhaspati's work. See then how the matter stands. The Gītā may be taken as standing chronologically prior to Brīhaspati; Brīhaspati as prior to the Bhāguti Tikā; the Bhāguti Tikā as prior to Patanjali; and Patanjali as prior to the beginning of the first century before Christ.† How old, then, must the Gītā be? True, the argument here is based, in very great measure, not on ascertained facts, but on mere presumptions. But on the other hand, it must be remembered, that these presumptions are such as the facts before us render very likely. And if they are correct, they lead logically to the conclusion, that the Gītā is much older than Dr. Lorinser's school would fain allow it to be.

But apart from this last branch of the argument, which, as just remarked, is mainly based on presumptions; if it is true, as I contend it is, that the Gītā does not contain that allusion to the Buddhists which Professor Wilson thought it contained; and if it therefore follows, as it must be admitted to follow, that the conclusion which might be drawn from the supposed allusion must fall to the ground; then it seems to me a very pertinent inquiry to ask—what ground Dr. Lorinser has for the very unqualified and unhesitating assertion, which he has ventured to make about the relative dates of the composition of the Gītā and the rise of Buddhism. Of any other ground than that above disposed of I cannot see the slightest trace. And I do not think it at all unlikely, that the statement of Professor Wilson above referred to has

\* Under Pāṇini VII 3. 44 (Bāṇarāś Ed. p. 115) and see Kaiyat on the same.

† See the introduction to our Edition of Bharṭṛihari (Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics) where the authorities on this point are collected.

been taken by some later writers as laying down a finally established proposition, to be treated in all discussions on the subject as embodying, in Dr. Lorinser's language, one of the 'results already won,' or as Professor Weber phrases it, as forming part of 'the present state of scientific research.' I know, and have elsewhere pointed out, at least one instance of an assertion, made by one scholar with words of limitation and qualification, which has been afterwards repeated by another scholar without any such diluting expression, as if it were a proved and well recognized truth.\* And the scholar who copies in this fashion is a critical German, 'whose authority in the sphere of Indian Philology', as we are told by Dr. Lorinser, 'is recognized even in India.'†

That being so, the question still remains—Is or is not the Gita older than Buddhism? I own that in forming an opinion on this point, the materials at my command are unfortunately very scanty. But in the absence of anything else, I think that they furnish quite sufficient ground for holding, at least as a sort of provisional hypothesis, that the Gita is older, and not later, than the rise of Buddhism. For in the first place, as is, and indeed must be, admitted on all hands, there is no express mention of the name or doctrines of Buddha in the Bhagavadgita. In the second place, there is not even any implied allusion to either Buddha or his doctrines, the only passage which has been relied on as containing such an allusion having been shown above to refer to a totally different sect. Now I admit at once, what, indeed, I have elsewhere contended for, that a merely negative argument of this nature is not in ordinary cases of much value.‡ Nor do I adduce it

\* See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol II. 73.

† *Ibid* 284.

‡ See 'Was the Rāmāyaṇa copied from Homer?' p. 41. I may,

here as entitled to much force. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the *Gita*, in some parts, is concerned with topics identical with those to which Buddhism addresses itself, and in view of this other fact, that various opinions held by other thinkers\* are alluded to in the course of the work, this negative argument does appear to me to be worth some consideration. Further, I think, that the way in which the *Veds* are spoken of in more than one passage of the *Gita*, shows that the composition of the work must be referred to a time when no attack had as yet been made on their authority.† For being, as is conceded even by Dr. Lorinser, the work of one who was himself thoroughly orthodox,‡ it is not likely, that the *Gita* would add strength to the lauds of the heterodox Buddhists, by showing a split in the phalanx of orthodox Hinduism at the main point of contest between the two parties. It seems to me more likely, that the *Gita* was a work of the age immediately preceding the Buddhistic revolution—one outcome, probably, of that general upheaval of religious feeling, which culminated at last in the heresy of Gautam Buddha.

Now in this state of the case, I repeat, I am entirely unprepared to accept Dr. Lorinser's statement, that it is "certain" that the *Bhagavadgita* "dates after Buddha." Dr. Lorinser adduces no argument, does not even refer to any authority for his position. And this leads to a remark, perhaps, be permitted to point out that Prof. Lightfoot in his review of 'Supernatural Religion' has expressed a view agreeing with ours, as to this 'negative agreement.' See *Contemporary Review* (January).

\* See XIII. 4 or XVIII. 2,13 among other passages.

† See II. 42, 43 or VI. 44 or IX. 21. Of course there is no direct defiance of the authority of the *Veds* but the reverse. Nevertheless the way they are spoken of is worthy of note, and seems to mark a sort of compromise.

‡ *Ind. Ant.*, VI. II. 284a and see Thomson's *Gita* *passim*.

which I may have to make in several places in the course of this discussion, that Dr. Lorinser very rarely refers his readers to the authorities for his assertions. I own, I find it quite impossible to satisfy myself, that there are more than a very few facts in the history of Sanskrit Literature, which we are entitled to speak of as historically "certain." That being so, I think, every reader has a right to expect, that the authorities for all important statements involved in any discussion should be always very carefully referred to. And I may say, that this is the general, if not the universal, practice. Dr. Lorinser, however, has laid down several propositions in the course of his essay, like the one which we have just been discussing, without giving his readers the slightest clue to the arguments or the authorities by which those propositions are supported. And the consequence is, that it is exceedingly difficult to deal with them except by the method of giving a bare denial to a bare assertion.

We now proceed to the second point, and I think it need not detain us long; for I at once confess, that I cannot understand the meaning of Dr. Lorinser's words. "A period terminating several centuries after the commencement of the Christian Era,"\* may mean all the time from the beginning of the world to the year of Grace one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five! It is, of course, clear, that Dr. Lorinser means something less vague than this, but what that something is, I have hitherto failed to perceive clearly. It is possible, that Dr. Lorinser means by it a period marked by certain noteworthy characteristics, which closed several centuries after Christ. But if so, I submit, that Dr. Lorinser ought to have told us what those characteristics are, and also, for the purposes of the present argument, when the

---

\* *Ind. And.*, Vol. II. 283a.

period in his opinion commenced. For a work may belong to a period "terminating several centuries after the commencement of the Christian Era," and yet may itself have been composed even before the birth of Christ. However, as already stated, no information on these matters is furnished by Dr. Lorinser; and his proposition without such information is very vague, that it is impossible to grapple with it. We shall, therefore, proceed without further ado to the third of Dr. Lorinser's points as stated above.

This third point is really the most important point of all; it is, as I may say, borrowing the language of Prof. Max Müller, the sheet-anchor of Dr. Lorinser's theory. The point is, that it is possible to prove that the author of the Gita knew and used the New Testament. Let us endeavour to see how Dr. Lorinser satisfies himself that he has proved this. His argument seems to be as follows:—S'aukarâchârya lived in the eighth century A. C.; from that it is to be inferred that the Gita was composed at the earliest some five centuries earlier; at that time there were Christian communities in India; and there was also an Indian Translation of the Bible belonging probably to the first or second century A. C. "In this way," Dr. Lorinser then goes on to observe, "the possibility that the composer of the Bhagavadgita may have been acquainted not merely with the general teaching of Christianity, but also with the very writings of the New Testament, might be shown in a very natural way, without the necessity of having recourse to rash hypothesis."<sup>10</sup> And next, coupling with this possibility "the fact that we can find in the Bhagavadgita passages, and these not single and obscure, but numerous and clear, which present a surprising similarity to passages in the New Testament," Dr. Lorinser

\* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol II., 281a.

sees "conclusive proof that the composer (of the Bhagavad-gita) was acquainted with the writings of the New Testament, and used them as he thought fit."\* Q. E. D.

Now it appears to me, that every single step in this reasoning is open to objections of a more or less grave character. Let us take the several steps in their order. It is by no means certain that S'ankar flourished in the eighth century A. C. Dr. Lorinser himself thinks that the "reasons" on which this hypothesis rests, though "weighty," "can make no claim to irrefragable certainty."<sup>†</sup> I quite concur. But when Dr. Lorinser indulges the hope, that S'ankar's date may prove to be later than the eighth century,<sup>‡</sup> I entirely differ from him. My expectation, on the contrary, is that the correct date will turn out to be at least a century or two earlier. I cannot go into the question at length on this occasion. I shall only refer in brief to some considerations which appear to me to support my position. In his paper on the antiquity of the Mahābhārat, Professor Bhāṇḍārkar, arguing from the data furnished by certain inscriptions which he refers to, suggests two alternative dates for S'aukar, the later of which is earlier by two centuries than the date fixed by the "usual hypothesis."<sup>§</sup> Again Mādhavāchārya in his S'ankervijaya —a work which dates from about 1350 A. C.||—speaks of S'ankar as स्मृतः सऽप्यकृतिभिः पुराणैः, (anglice, "well extolled by ancient poets,") and of his own work as one in which पातीनचंद्ररत्ने शर्वसंगृहने स्मृतम्, ("the substance of the old work on the victories of S'ankar is clearly stated.") Now it seems to me, that before a person

\* *Ibid* 286.

<sup>†</sup> *Ibid* 283<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>‡</sup> *Ibid* 296<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>§</sup> Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X. p. 69.

<sup>||</sup> See Cowell's Kusumānjali, Preface p. x.

<sup>¶</sup> S'ankervijaya I, 1 and 4 &c. Prof. Wilson's essays &c. III, 192-3.

like Madhav could speak of a writer as ग्रन्थात् or ancient poet, this latter must have preceded him by a considerably long period of time, say five or six centuries at the very least; while the hero of the predecessor's laudatory work must also have probably gone before his biographer by about a century or two. Furthermore, I find that the records of the Math of Sringeri, which owes its first establishment to Sankaracharya, exhibit a list of the several occupants of the Gadi, which according to the ordinary computation would send Sankar into a much higher antiquity than the "usual hypothesis" gives him.\* Once more, the Editor of Anandagiri's Sankarvijaya states that according to the traditions which have descended to him in a line of literary succession, S'aukar must have lived about 1900 years ago.†

But let that pass. Let us for the moment concede to Dr. Lorinser that Sankar did flourish in the eighth century. Still I fail to see, by what possible process of ratiocination that alone could enable either Prof. Lassen, or Dr. Lorinser, or any one else, to say that the Gita could not have been composed earlier than the third century after Christ. The reasoning is simply beyond me. Unfortunately, Dr. Lorinser, here as elsewhere, gives no references, even though he does not set out the arguments for his propositions. But if the opinion of Lassen which he refers to is that expressed in the Preface to his edition of Schlegel's Bhagavadgita, I must say, that I think Dr. Lorinser has not correctly stated Prof. Lassen's view. That view is, in Lassen's own words, as follows :—“Si conjecturam facere par est, quinque fere saeculis ante S'ankram editam fuisse Bhagavadgitam facile credider-

\* In fact the records give his date also, but I cannot yet make up mind to place reliance on them. See Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, 373.

† See preface.

im."<sup>e</sup> Thus far Lassen. Contrast Lorinser. "It must not be forgotten, that it (scil. Lassen's inference) only professes to give the earliest date at which the Bhagavadgītā could have been composed."<sup>f</sup> Is this a correct interpretation? Surely what Prof. Lassen can "easily believe" is not the utmost that he will believe. On the contrary, the inference which I think may legitimately be drawn from Prof. Lassen's words as above quoted, especially when taken in connection with the preceding argument which is summed up in them, is that the interval he mentions is in his view much nearer the minimum than the maximum interval. But however that may be, it is perfectly clear, that the fixing of a terminus ad quem can never by itself lead to the terminus a quo; and even if I have misunderstood Lassen, I still contend, that the argument which I am now combating is essentially illogical, and such as no amount of mere authority can sup-

The next step in Dr. Lorinser's argument brings us to the question of the earliest existence of Christian communities in India. Now on this point again, Dr. Lorinser's deliverance is remarkably positive. "We know," he says in one part of his Dissertation, "we know that there were already at that time Christian communities in India."<sup>g</sup> And in another part, he says in even more powerful language, "we know for certain that there were numerous Christian communities in India in the first century of the Christian era, which continued under the name of Thomas Christians and were found by the Portuguese."<sup>h</sup> This is decidedly a rather strong

\* P. XXXVI.

<sup>f</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. II. 283a.

<sup>g</sup> Ind. Ant., volume II. 283b.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid 285a. In the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, there

thing to say, but of course Dr. Lorinser cites no authority for his assertion, shows no means of "certain knowledge." Dean Milman, indeed, says, that "even of Andrew in Achaia and in Scythia, of Thaddeus in Edessa, Matthew or Matthias in Æthiopia, of Thomas in Parthia and Southern India, of Bartholomew in Judæa, there remain but vague, late, contradictory rumours which hardly aspire to legends."<sup>o</sup> But then Dean Milman is only a prosaic historian after all. And Gibbon is no better, seeing that he talks of "the legend of antiquity which tells of St. Thomas's preaching the Gospel in India."<sup>p</sup> I will not quote Wheeler<sup>q</sup> or Kaye<sup>r</sup> in order further to confirm this view about the reality of St. Thomas's mission. But it does seem to me, that this instance of Dr. Lorinser's dogmatism in the teeth of such a mass of authority—and powerful authority too—is not calculated to impress one favourably about the value to be attached to

---

is a paper on the history of this Malabar community of Christians, and we learn there, that "the affiliation of that community on the Apostle St. Thomas was an invention of the bigoted Portuguese missionaries," opposed to all the traditions of the community itself. And the writer expresses his surprise, that the story "unsupported as it is by historical proof is asserted and repeated by even Protestant writers as Baldens and Valentyn" (see p. 366).

\* History of Christianity I. 387. Another orthodox historian of Christianity, Dr. J. C. L. Gieseler, seems in effect to concur in this view, for he thinks it probable that the tradition is of Manichean origin (see Vol. I. of Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History p. 79), and the Manichean sect rose about the close of the third century A. D. Dr. Gieseler says generally (p. 76). "The history of the other apostles" (*scil. except St. Paul*) "and their early pupils is involved in great obscurity and has frequently been much disfigured by mistakes and fabrications"—a passage which furnishes an instructive commentary on Dr. Lorinser's words above-quoted.

<sup>t</sup> Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (Bohn's Ed.) Vol. V. 261.

<sup>‡</sup> History of India, Vol. III. p. 390.

<sup>§</sup> Christianity in India p. 3 & seq.

his strong asseverations. And when Dr. Lorinser goes on to refer to Eusebius as an important witness, he seems ■ forget, that out of his own mouth, Eusebius has been all but convicted of being rather a romancer than a sober historian. For we read in Gibbon:—"The gravest of the ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly confesses that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of his religion." "Such an acknowledgment" Gibbon very justly goes on to say, "will naturally excite suspicion that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other."<sup>\*</sup> And it is not entirely unworthy of note, that whereas the Gospel which, upon the authority of Eusebius, ■ supposed to have been found in India in the second century after Christ, was the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew,<sup>†</sup> Dean Milman declares, that "where that Gospel was written, in what language originally, are questions to which no authoritative answer can be given."<sup>‡</sup> Upon the whole, I think,

\* See *Decline and Fall*, Vol. II. 68. Compare Milman's *Hist. of Christ*, Vol. III. p. 360. The notes there and also at p. 17 of Gieseler's *History* above referred to show how even Eusebius has found his advocates. "Probably" says Dean Milman "Eusebius erred more often from credulity than from dishonesty." Be it so. Nevertheless the value of Eusebius's statements, even on this view, must be very small indeed. As to Eusebius's intellectual aptitude as a historian, see Strauss' *Life of Jesus* (1865) Vol. I. 35; and also that wellknown work, *Supernatural Religion*, Vol. I. p. 124. We may add here, that ■ is on Eusebius's authority, that Dr. Gieseler seems to accept the reality of St. Bartholomew's mission to India (p. 79).

† *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 283. Even Eusebius puts it no higher than "it ■ said that he found" &c. See Westcott on the Canon p. 70.

‡ *Hist. of Christ* Vol. I. p. 366; and see too Greg's *Creed of Christendom* I. p. 111 *et seq.*; and *Supernatural Religion* Vol. I. p. 473 ■ *seq.*

■ must necessarily be admitted by every unbiased inquirer into this subject, that the evidence for this early existence of Christian communities in India, looked ■ from any point of view whatever, is of the weakest possible description. If we judged simply by the weight of authority, it would be far more safe to abide by the conclusions of two such eminent historians as Gieseler and Milman, than by the biased statements of any other writer, even of Eusebius or Lorinser. If we applied to these various stories the historical tests laid down by Grote and Cornwall Lewis, and insisted on contemporary evidence, refusing to believe any statements that were not substantiated by such evidence, we should, I think, ex concessis, have at once to reject these stories. But even examining them by less exacting rules of historical criticism, they do not appear to me to be sufficiently vouched for. For there is not, I believe, any older writer than Eusebius to whom the stories can be traced; yet St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew lived in the first century after Christ, and Pantænus\* in the second, while Eusebius himself belongs to the middle of the fourth century. The truth seems to be, as remarked by Dr. Gieseler, that "the real but later founders of churches

\* Sir John Kaye says (p. 6 n). "There is no reason, indeed, to doubt that Pantænus visited India, in all probability the island of Ceylon and the Malabar Coast." I cannot find, that this rests on any older authority than the statements of Eusebius and Ambrose (1 Gieseler 230, where the remark on Pantænus in the text ought to be noted, as also the diverging accounts referred to in the note about the succession of teachers in the school to which he belonged). ■ ■ also to be remarked concerning Pantænus that, as admitted even by Sir John Kaye, "it is not easy to say what he left behind him or who succeeded him in the great work. The history of the Christian Church in the east here sinks into a cloud of obscurity." Col. Wilford (Asiatic Researches Vol. X. p. 69 et seq.) has some observations as to St. Thomas and Pantænus, but it is impossible to attach any weight to them.

have been frequently transferred to the times of the apostles by tradition"—a circumstance very natural and easy to understand, and one which, according to the writer in the Asiatic Researches above referred to, is known to have actually come to pass with regard to the Christian Church at Malabar.

Dean Milman<sup>\*</sup> has said :—"The other scattered communities of Christians disseminated through various parts of Asia, on the coast of Malabar, perhaps in China, have no satisfactory evidence of Apostolic or even of very early date ; they are so deeply impregnated with the Nestorian system of Christianity, which during the interval between the decline of the reformed Zoroastrianism and the first outburst of Islamism spread to a great extent throughout every part of the Eastern continent, that there is every reason to suppose them Nestorian in their origin."<sup>†</sup> To a somewhat similar effect is the following passage from Dr. Gieseeler : "The Persian church had now broken off all connexion with the church of the Roman empire, and the Kings of Persia from Pheroses onward (461-488) favoured this separation for political reasons. These Christians, who had the bishop of Seleneis and Ctesiphon, were called by their opponents *Nestorians*, though they called themselves Chaldean Christians, and in India Thomas-Christians."<sup>‡</sup> But it is unnecessary to further labour this point. Dr. Lorinser brings forward no evidence in support of his position ; and on such a point, it might even be enough to pit against his assertion the above passages from the writings of two such historians as Milman and Gieseeler, who, if they had a bias at all, would have a bias in favour of Dr. Lorinser's position.

\* Hist. of Christ. II. 31.

† Eccles. Hist. I. 404.

We next come to a point, which, as stated by Dr. Lorinser himself, "is of peculiar importance in the present discussion;" and I would, therefore, first set forth in Dr. Lorinser's own words what he says upon it. "Further" he says "there already existed an Indian Translation of the New Testament, of which we have positive proof\* in the writings of St. Chrysostom, which seems to have been till now overlooked by Indian Antiquarians. The place in question is *Evang. Joan. Homil. I. cap. 1* and runs as follows:—

"The Syrians too, and Egyptians, and Indians, and Persians, and Ethiopians, and innumerable other nations, translating into their own tongues the doctrines derived from this man, barbarians though they were, learnt to philosophise."† Now a variety of observations arises on this passage. And first I must say, that on a point of such "peculiar importance," I wish Dr. Lorinser's words had been perfectly precise, even beyond the reach of cavil. It may be my fault, or Dr. Lorinser's, or of Dr. Lorinser's translator; but what is precisely meant by the word "already" in the above sentence, and what precise fact it is of which we have "positive proof," seems to me very far from clear. I, however, take "already" to mean before the third century, and the "positive proof" to apply only to the fact of the existence of the translation, apart from the date to which that translation is to be referred. This being premised, let us now examine the real value of this new evidence. Who, in the first place, are the Indians? Is it "positively proved" that the word Indians here means the people of this country? The

---

\* It may be useful, considering the strength of this expression, to refer to the observations of Stræne at pp. 48 &c seq. of the first Volume of his *Life of Jesus*. And see our remarks further on upon this point.

† *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 283A.

question is put for a variety of reasons. Writing of the reign of Constantine—and Chrysostom flourished in the same century with him—Dean Milman says:—"The Romans called this country (namely that about the Red Sea with that of the Homerites on the other side of the Arabian Gulf) by the vague name of "the nearer India;" while our country seems to have passed under the name of Further India.\* This alone would throw considerable suspicion on the theory identifying Chrysostom's "Indians" with the people of this country. But secondly, the maxim of *noscitur a sociis* also points in the same direction; for the other peoples enumerated by Chrysostom belong exactly to that part of Asia which might be regarded as connected with the "nearer India" of the Romans. And lastly, when St. Chrysostom is pleased to speak of all the nations named by him as "barbarians" whom the study of the doctrines of Jesus, for the first time in their national life, taught how to philosophise, those expressions also, even taken *cum grano* as we shall show further on they must be taken, apply more properly to the people about the Red Sea than to the countrymen of Patanjali, of Kālidās, of Varthamāhir. These considerations, it is submitted, throw at the very least an extremely strong suspicion upon the identification of the "Indians" and the Hindus.†

---

\* And see too Gieseler Vol. I. p. 79 where India ■ stated to be probably identical with Yemen, and several authorities are cited for this view. See also Mr. Barnell's elaborate paper in 3 Indian Antiquary 309a. note and 1 Supernatural Religion p. 476 *et seq.*

† Sir John Kaye, speaking of Pantenus's visit to India, says (p. 6 note) that "the balance of evidence collected by Mr. Hough in his 'History of Christianity in India' is against the latter hypothesis," namely, "that the scene of Pantenus's labours was the coast of Arabia." I confess, I cannot bring myself to this conclusion. The contrary, I must say, appears to me more correct. Besides the evidence collected by Mr. Hough is not in my opinion of very much historical value, and the arguments adduced are extremely weak. Mr.

But further. It appears to me clear upon the very face of the passage, that the author ■ a rhetorician indulging in hyperbolical language. And what we are able to infer from this passage is amply confirmed by the information about St. Chrysostom which we receive from Gibbon. This, indeed, seems to have occurred to Dr. Lorinser also. But he says, that the consideration "loses its force, when we remember that all the translations mentioned by name in this passage, with the single exception of the Indian, are known to us from other sources and are still extant."\* Upon this one or two observations arise, and again by reason of Dr. Lorinser's reticence as to his authorities. Are the dates of these translations perfectly well settled? And if they are, are they settled upon authority independent of this statement of St.

Hough says in one place:—"Baronius the Martyrologist concluded that there were two Bishops named Frumentius, one presiding over the church of Ethiopia, and the other over that of India proper; the reader will judge whether this is a more reasonable way of solving the difficulty than by drawing a summary conclusion which would deprive the History of the Indian Church of this interesting narrative." Not having any wish as to the preservation or otherwise of this "interesting narrative," I own, that I consider the suggestion of Baronius the less reasonable of the two hypotheses. Clemens Alexandrinus's description of India need not necessarily have been learnt from Pantænus. And there seems to be some doubt as to Pantænus's exact relation with Clement. See Gieseler I. 230 and II. Supernatural Religion 191. The opinions of Fabricius and Niecamp are not anything like conclusive evidence, even if they are of any force ■ all, as to the reality of Pantænus's mission to India. Bunsen (Hippolytus and his age I. 235) speaks of Pantænus's Mission to India, "which means or includes, South Arabia." Dr. Westcott by putting India between inverted commas, seems to indicate at least a doubt as to the precise scene of Pantænus's labours. (Westcott on the Canon p. 297.)

\* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 184. If this statement be correct, ■ certainly becomes all the more remarkable that the 'Indian Translation' alone should not be forthcoming. Does it not lend some support ■ the view put forward in the text?

Chrysostom \* These questions are of very great moment, for unless they can be answered in the affirmative, we cannot obtain that corroboration for St. Chrysostom which Dr. Lorinser endeavours to find for him. And further it must be remembered, that taking this statement of St. Chrysostom at the best, we have to weigh against it the unquestionable circumstances that no such Indian Translation is now forthcoming ; that such a translation is never alluded to anywhere else ; that if there had been any such translation, the Christians would have taken very good care that it should not be lost ; and that in those early years of Christianity, it is not very likely, that Christian Missionaries should have come over to India, and been able to master even one of the languages of the country sufficiently to trans-

\* These questions were suggested, only because Dr. Lorinser expresses himself in various places as thoroughly satisfied about things as to which the evidence is of a very meagre and weak description. Since this was written, however, I have found, that there is some foundation for Dr. Lorinser's assertion. At the same time it is remarkable, and of very great importance in this argument, that the dates of these translations are not themselves well settled at all. As to the Syriac see Davidson Biblical Criticism p. 597 ; as to the Egyptian p. 553 ; as to the Ethiopic p. 648-9 : as to the Persian p. 667 though this, by the way, does not seem to be mentioned in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, which may be consulted as to all the version, under the article Versions (ancient.) I may also quote here the following words of Dr. Davideon as affording very strong confirmation to the view I have ventured to express in the text to the value of Chrysostom's testimony. After mentioning Chrysostom's "boast" about numerous translations, Dr. Davidson says, "But we are scarcely justified in attaching much significance to this language. The eloquent father speaks in the hyperbolical, exaggerated strain of the orator, rather than in the sober tone of truth and reality. The Greek passage need not be quoted, as it may be found in March's Michaelis, where the learned translator observes, that Chrysostom has weakened his own evidence by the addition of the words 'innumerable other nations.' "

late the Bible into it. Dr. Lorinser thinks, "we may be certain that Chrysostom would not have expressly mentioned the Indian if he had not had positive knowledge of a translation in their tongue."<sup>\*</sup> There is some force in this remark. On the other hand, it is certainly not necessary to suppose any personal or positive knowledge. A mere rumour is quite sufficient for the purposes of a rhetorical flourish, though it is quite insufficient for the purposes of sober trustworthy history. And St. Chrysostom's words above cited appear to me, I confess, to have too much of the rhetorical ring about them. It is well known, too, that he was a man of a particularly fervid imagination, one who had gone through a regular training in rhetoric, and one, therefore, not likely to weigh his words with much accuracy.<sup>†</sup> Upon the whole, then, I do not think that any weight is due to the statement of St. Chrysostom which Dr. Lorinser values so highly. It is probably of as much, or rather as little, value as the rumour mentioned by his namesake Dio Chrysostom about an Indian Translation of Homer, which also has recently been raised to the dignity of a historical truth.<sup>‡</sup>

One word more on this important point. "The Indian Translation" says Dr. Lorinser "of which he (i. e. Chrysostom) knew must have existed for at least a hundred years before information about it could in those times have reached him."<sup>§</sup> Very likely. But this remark, it seems to me, has also a value on the opposite side. If the mere information would take a hundred years to reach Chrysostom, surely a considerably longer period than a hundred years would be

\* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 284a.

† See Gibbon (Bohn's ed.) Vol. III. p. 501.

‡ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. 176; and see "was the *Bāṇavyāna* copied from Homer?" p. 11.

§ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 284a.

required for the Missionaries of Christianity to come as far as India, to learn even one of the Indian languages, and to prepare a translation of the Bible into that language. And if we remember further, that the real propagation of Christianity among the "Heathen" did not commence till the time of St. Paul, and was not commenced even then without something like opposition from the older Apostles,<sup>\*</sup> surely we must come to the conclusion, that when Dr. Lorinser asks us to believe, that the date of this translation may possibly reach to the first or second century A. C.† he makes a somewhat strong demand upon our credulity. And this quite apart from the question which will be referred to further on as to the dates of the composition of the original Gospels themselves.

But at this part of the argument, a suspicion seems to have crossed Dr. Lorinser's own mind, that this story of an Indian Translation of the New Testament is so indifferently vouched for, that it may probably not be of much historical value. And so he proceeds to discuss another alternative. "But even" says he "if we shut our eyes to the existence of an Indian Translation of the New Testament, it would still be possible that a Brahmap acquainted with the Greek language may have known and used the original text."‡ According to the maxim that nothing is impossible except what involves a contradiction, this possibility may be accepted. But it seems to me that all the

\* Strauss Life of Jesus I. 293. Milman also, (Vol. I. 320-1) seems to admit this.

† Dr. Davidson's highly reasonable observation may be quoted upon this. He says: "No man could think, as Marsh rightly affirms, of translating the Greek Testament before its several parts were connected and united in a volume, that is before the canon was formed. But the canon was not formed before the middle of the second century." See Biblical Criticism p. 597.

‡ Ind. Ant. II. 284a.

probabilities point exactly the other way. It must be remembered, that in the days to which these matters are to be referred, the Christian came not as a ruler as he comes now, but as one going to interfere with the religion of the people, without the power of physical force to back him, and without being able to dangle before their eyes any temporal reward to be secured by conversion to Christianity. And when we remember this ; when we remember also that there has always been a prejudice against foreign tongues among our people which is preserved in the line न पैद्यानो  
भाषा प्राणः कर्तव्येरिति ; when we remember further, that even in our own days it is because of the ulterior advantages which the study of the English language affords that that language is learnt by many of our people ; once more when we remember that, even in spite of these advantages, those strata of our society which have not directly or indirectly much connexion with the foreigner in other ways still continue impervious to the influences of the English language ; when we remember all this, and couple with it the just assertion of Professor Wilson that Alexander's invasion had but little influence on India ;\* we cannot but come to the conclusion, I think, that it is an exceedingly "rash hypothesis," which, without a scintilla of evidence, imagines a Brâhman of the first or second century after Christ to have been acquainted with the Greek language. The rashness of the hypothesis appears to me, I confess, to be increased immensely, when we are asked to believe, that the Greek work which the Brâhman studied and used was the New Testament, the Holy Book of a religion which sent out its Missionaries with the avowed object of destroying all the other religions

---

\* See Mill's British India by Wilson Vol. I. p. 118. And compare Wheeler's India Vol. III. 240.

of the world, and among others the religion of this same Brâhmanical student of the language of Greece. Dr. Lorinser seems to think, that his supposition may perhaps find confirmation in the circumstance, that "besides the New Testament, there are traces of the use of the Book of Wisdom which was originally written in Greek."<sup>4</sup> But the existence of these traces described by Dr. Lorinser has itself never been proved. Parallels between the Gîtâ and the Book of Wisdom there may be. These, too, however, may be only apparent and unreal. But even if they were very substantial and real, I should still strongly demur to the inference that the Gîtâ must have borrowed from the Book of Wisdom. Much more strongly should I demur to the use of this illogical deduction as a premise upon which to base any further deduction. What if I said, that the supposition that the New Testament borrowed from the Gîtâ may perhaps find confirmation in the circumstance that the Book of Wisdom also shows traces of its use?

And here a question of the last importance in this inquiry presents itself. While Dr. Lorinser is talking of the existence of translations of the New Testament in the first and second centuries after Christ, is it not a matter of at least grave doubt whether the original itself existed at that early period? Dr. Lorinser writes as if the conclusion which he draws was not at all in conflict with conclusions arrived at by other writers on independent reasoning. He does not even passingly notice any such conclusions. I shall therefore notice them. For although Dr. Lorinser may conveniently ignore the work of his countryman, Dr. Strauss, and others, I am of opinion that a complete investigation of the point before us requires that it should be discussed. And all the more

\* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 184a.

will one insist upon this, when one observes, that the methods of criticism adopted with regard to the Gospels by Dr. Strauss and the other writers on their age and authenticity, are similar to the methods which have been applied ■ our own literature, as well sacred as profane, in the discussions upon our ancient history. Now in the first place, taking the four Gospels alone into our consideration, "we do not find certain traces of the existence of our first three Gospels in their present form until towards the middle of the second century;"\* while as to the Fourth Gospel that ■ chronologically posterior to the other three. If so, no translation of these gospels into any language whatever could possibly have existed in the first century, nor it may be safely added, I think, even in the second century, except, perhaps, at its very close. It need scarcely be added, that the case as to the existence of a translation into Sanskrit or any other language of this country is even stronger against Dr. Lorinser's view. Furthermore, the facts adduced by Dr. Strauss† very clearly show

\* See Strauss Life of Jesus Vol. I. 76—100, and see too Greg's Creed of Christendom Vol. I. Chap. VI. and VII. In the Contemporary Review for March 1875, Mr. Matthew Arnold referring to the wellknown work called "Supernatural Religion" writes on this subject as follows:—"But this which it is the main object of his book to show—that there is no evidence of the establishment of our four gospels as a Gospel Canon, or even of their existence as they now finally stand at all before the last quarter of the second century, nay that the great weight of evidence is against it—he has shown, and in the most minute and exhaustive detail" (p. 525.) And with this should be coupled the remark of Marsh endorsed by Dr. Davideon which we have quoted above.

† See *inter alia* pp. 60, 75 of his life of Jesus Vol. I. Compare also Greg's Creed of Christendom II. 37, and other places. Mr. Matthew Arnold, also, though ■ seems to refer more particularly to the heretics of the early days of Christianity, says:—"The practice ■ forgery and interpolation was notorious, and the temptation to it was great." Contemporary Review for March 1875 pp. 518-7. See too Supernatural Religion I. 464 also p. 472.

that there have been numerous alterations made in the reports of Christ's works and speeches, which, among other considerations, render it at least quite as likely that the Gospels in the course of their formation received accretions from foreign sources, as that after their formation the followers of other religious systems borrowed from them. And this, indeed, suggests one point of very great moment in the present discussion. The point is, that while Dr. Lorinser endeavours to interpret facts in unnatural ways in order to suit his hypothesis as ■ the mode of explaining the coincidences he observes, he does not even hint at the possible existence of an opposite mode of explaining those coincidences. While he strains every nerve to make out that the coincidences between the two works show the Gītā to have borrowed from the Bible, he propounds not a single argument to show that the reverse of his hypothesis ■ incorrect. There is nothing in this part of his essay which can furnish an answer to the query.—Might not the Bible have borrowed from the Gītā? My own belief is, that such a borrowing, whether directly or indirectly, is very likely. But as we shall have something to say on this point at a later stage of this discussion, we need not here dwell on it any longer.

So much for the arguments by which Dr. Lorinser thinks he has made out the possibility that the author may have made use of the New Testament. Here however, a very natural difficulty occurs to Dr. Lorinser himself. "But is ■ conceivable," he asks, "that a Brāhmaṇ, who holds fast to the traditional wisdom of his caste and puts ■ above everything, as the author of the Bhagavadgītā does, should have condescended to take such special knowledge of Christianity, and even to use some of its doctrines, and maxims from its holy

writings, in order to suit them to, and incorporate them with, his own system?"\* Having raised this important question, Dr. Lorinser proceeds to adduce passages from various writers, which appear to him to bear upon it. These passages, which are set out at length, show that in the opinion of certain Christian scholars, the character of Krishna in the Mahabharata has had attributed to it many of the acts and qualities attributed to Jesus in the Christian Scriptures;† and that the worship of the Deity Krishna is a comparatively recent innovation not earlier than about the fifth or sixth century A. C., as it cannot be traced in Varahamihir. Dr. Lorinser thence infers, that in the same way that the deeds of Christ are ascribed to Krishna, the words of Christ and the doctrines taught by him may have been transferred upon Christ's Hindu analogue.

Now if we remember, that the frame of mind which led the Greeks to "discover everywhere their Heracles and Dionysos";‡ was by no means the peculiar property of that people, we shall not for one moment regard it as unnatural, that Christian writers should have "recognised the influence of Christian doctrines and legends on the development of later Brahminical wisdom."§ In one of the extracts from his writings given by Dr. Lorinser, Prof. Weber attributes the mental prepossession here spoken of to the Hindus. I do not deny that this is in some measure correct. But seeing that the Hindus have long held the doctrine which Christendom has yet to learn, but is now likely to learn under the teaching of men like Herbert Spencer and others—the doctrine of what may be called

\* Ind. Ant. Vol. II. 284a.

† Compare Mr. Growse's letter on the Krishna Jaumâshâmi in Ind. Ant. Vol. III. 300a.

‡ Ind. Ant. Vol. II. 263a.

§ Ibid 285b.

the relative truth of religious systems, it seems to me that the mental characteristic question would be more potent in the Christian than in the Hindu. Bred up under a system of religion which holds its own dogmas only to be true, and the dogmas of all other religions to be wholly and entirely untrue, Christians would naturally be only too glad to believe and to teach that whatever was good and true in other systems was borrowed from their own.\* But in a scientific inquiry, when we have to calculate the value of results which are offered for consideration by persons in this peculiar position, it behoves us to make allowance, so to speak, for the 'personal equation.'

What then is the true state of the case on this point? We shall go *seriatim* through Dr. Lorinser's citations. And first Professor Weber, in the first passage extracted from his *Indische Studien*, makes a supposition, which occurs to him involuntarily, that Brâhmaṇa may have gone to Alexandria, or even to Asia Minor, at the beginning of the Christian Era, and learnt there the monotheistic doctrine and some of its legends, which in due course they may have afterwards transferred—whatever that may mean—to Kṛishṇa, to whom, nevertheless, divine honours may already have been granted.† This "supposition" of Brâhmaṇa travelling in search of Christian doctrine to foreign lands; has, of course, no evidence at all to support it, and may be taken, accordingly, for what it is worth.‡ And in considering the worth of the supposition, the reader of these sentences will doubtless

\* Strauss mentions "a legend of a connexion between Senecca and the Apostle Paul." Life of Jesus Vol. I. ¶51.

† Indian Antiquary Vol. II. 2845.

‡ Mr. Hough (Christianity in India Vol. I. 43) speaking of "strangers" from India and sundry other countries being drawn to Alexandria by the attractions of its mart, says:—"they came for the sake of

take due note of the auxiliary verb 'may' which ■ to be observed in such profusion in them. We seem here to be dealing with that "German license of conjecture,"\* which was reprobated, and justly reprobated, by the late eminent Historian of Greece. And if Professor Weber really means to say, what in the words above referred to he does seem to say, that monotheism was introduced into India from Christianity, not only is there no evidence to bolster up this supposition, there is, I think, positive evidence to show that the supposition is entirely incorrect.† However, Prof. Weber, continues :—"The legends of the birth of Krishna and his persecution by

this world's traffic indeed ; but they found in the knowledge of the Gospel infinitely more than they sought, and returned home freighted with the merchandise of Heaven." I own this strikes me as utterly illogical and unlikely. Men engaged in the "world's traffic" are not, according to the ordinary modes of human action, the most eligible persons for conversion to a foreign religion. And though the knowledge of the Gospel may, in the eyes of a devout Christian like Mr. Hough, be infinitely more than what the Hindu trader sought, the Hindu trader is not very likely to have taken the same view of the matter. At any rate his taking such a view is certainly nota matter of course. Mr. Hough next goes on to state, how some Christian Missionaries preached at Socotra, and how some may have gone on to India, and then winds up in this wise :—" who those heralds of mercy were, or to what extent the great Head of the Church vouchsafed to prosper their endeavours, the pen of history has not recorded. But this is of little moment. It is enough to know that their names are written in Heaven." This again is a remarkable mode of writing history. Mr. Hough has failed to show that the 'pen of history' has 'recorded' the fact of any 'herald of mercy' going to India. That statement rests merely on a conjecture of his own. Yet in these last sentences, he speaks as if that were quite settled, and the only doubt was as to the precise persons who took part in the transaction, and as to the precise extent of the success which they achieved.

\* See Personal life of Grote by Mrs. Grote p. 284.

<sup>†</sup> Not to mention a legion of other passages, I may simply refer to the verse एकं सहित्यम् वृत्तम् वरान्ति quoted in Yâska's Nirukta and see Wilson, Essays on Sanskrit Literature Vol. III, 345.

Kansa remind us too strikingly of the corresponding Christian narratives to leave room for the supposition that the similarity is quite accidental." I am not quite so sure of that. But we shall suppose that Prof. Weber is perfectly right. What then? This does not prove that the Hindus borrowed from the Christians,<sup>9</sup> and certainly not that they borrowed in the particular mode which Prof. Weber's clairvoyance has described. Prof. Weber goes on:—"According to Lassen (I. 623), the passages in the *Mahābhārata* in which Krishna has divine honours attributed to him are of later origin (belong in fact, as I think, to the Puriya epoch) and the Krishna-cultus proper is not found before the fifth or sixth century." The question hinges really a good deal on this point. Is this view of Prof. Weber, correct? Prof. Lassen's opinion—into the grounds of which we shall not stay to inquire—is not by any means enough for the exigencies of Prof. Weber's conclusion. For, admitting the "later origin," the question still remains, later

\* See the passage from Sir W. Jones cited in Mr. Greg's *of Christendom* Vol. I. 140; see too 3 Wheeler's *India* 378 n.; and Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* p. 200 cited, apparently with approval, in Hardwicke's *Christ and other masters* p. 177. And see also Weber's *Kṛishṇajanmābhāṣāṇi*. *Indian Antiquary* III. pp. 21 et seq. It is worth remarking here, that this story of Kānsa, on which Prof. Weber relies so much, is already mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*—a work which, even according to Weber, was composed before the death of Christ. On Prof. Weber's principle, the inference from this is irresistible, that the Christian story is borrowed from the Indian, as Mr. Greg suggests. A learned scholar, criticizing in the *Bombay Gazette* a paper of Prof. Bhāskarārāja referred to in the sequel, suggested that the passage might have been interpolated—upon what ground except its clashing with a foregone conclusion, it is difficult to say. Besides the writer is probably not aware, that the interpolation must have been made not only in the *Bhāshya* but also in the *Vākyapadiya* and in Kaiyāṭ's gloss, for both those works refer to the story. See under *Pitāni* III. 1-2. (Bādarāj Ed. 27).

than what period? Professor Weber's assertion, therefore, that the passages of the *Bikṣat* in which Kṛishṇa is deified belong to the "Purāṇa epoch," must be fortified with other reasons than the vague deliverance of Prof. Lassen. But the only other reason I can trace throughout the lengthy extract from the *Indische Studien* which is given by Dr. Lorinser, is that "there is no trace in Varāhamihira" of the worship of Kṛishṇa. And it must, I apprehend, be at once admitted, that at the best this is an extremely weak reason indeed. But the matter does not rest there. Bharṭihari in his *Nitis'ātak* speaks of the Ten Incarnations of Viśnu. Of course, therefore, he must have regarded Kṛishṇa as an incarnation of Viśnu. And Kālidāsa expressly speaks of "Viśnu in the guise of a cowherd." Now Dr. Bhānu Dāaji makes Bharṭihari a contemporary of Kālidāsa, and both contemporaries of Varāhamihira.<sup>†</sup> What then becomes of the argument based on Varāhamihira's silence, when two of his contemporaries speak out in this wise? Still more, what becomes of it, if, as I contend, both Kālidāsa and Bharṭihari must be placed a good deal, in fact two or three centuries, before the 6th century A. C.? Even yet, however, we have not

---

\* What is the "Purāṇa epoch" of which Prof. Weber speaks? This is one of those vague expressions, highly objectionable and misleading as I submit, which occur with unfortunate frequency in the discussions on our ancient Literature. The Purāṇa epoch means, I suppose, the epoch in which the Purāṇas were composed. Who knows when that occurred? I have already lodged my protest against Prof. Wilson's opinion in this matter in the preface to my edition of Bharṭihari (see pp. VII.—VIII.) So have Professor Bhānūdākar and Bībī Rājendralal Mitra (see *Indian Antiquary* Vol. III. 16 and *Chhindogyo-paṇiḥad*, Bagi, Translation p. 63 note).

<sup>†</sup> J. B. B. E. A. S. Vol. VI. 225, and J. B. A. S. (N. S.). Vol. I.

<sup>‡</sup> See "Was the Rāmāyaṇa copied from Homer?" p. 58. and Bharṭihari (Bomb. Series of Sansk. Classics) Introduction pp. XII.—XIIJ.

traced the deification of Kṛishṇa up ■ the earliest testimony to its existence which we possess. There is in the Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali—an author who flourished before Bhartrihari and before Kālidās—a body of evidence which ■ of the highest importance on this point. The strongest argument is that afforded by a passage to which attention was drawn by me in my essay on the Rāmāyaṇa in reply to Professor Weber,<sup>\*</sup> and by Professor Bhāskararāma in his essay on the Antiquity of the Mahābhāṣya.<sup>†</sup> Since then Professor Bhāskararāma has collected several other passages from the Mahābhāṣya in which references are made to Kṛishṇa or his exploits.<sup>‡</sup> The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible, that apart from the weakness of the argument *ab silentio*, there is positive evidence on the other side to show that the divinity of Kṛishṇa is not a post-Christian innovation, but is as old at least as the time of Patanjali, if not as old as the time of Pāṇini.

I cannot leave this topic without entering an emphatic protest against the perfectly arbitrary method of fixing dates in the history of Sanskrit Literature and Philosophy which this example well illustrates. I feel convinced, that the argument *ab silentio* has been in numerous cases impressed to do work to which ■ ■ not equal in any case, least of all in the case of a literature of which large portions can almost be demonstrated to have perished. While the chronology of our ancient literature and philosophy ■ yet entirely unsettled, there are not a few scholars who think themselves entitled to make dogmatic assertions about the dates of various works, and of the rise of various doctrines. But the evils of

\* P. 27.

† J. B. B. B. A. S. Vol. X. 84

‡ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. III. 14-16.

this vicious method, of course, do not stop there. Not only are hypotheses formed on the weakest possible foundations, with the smallest possible collection of facts, but upon such hypotheses further superstructures of speculation are raised. And when that is done, the essential weakness of the base is often effectually kept out of view. By such methods the whole of Sanskrit Literature, or nearly the whole of it, is being shown to be much more recent than it has hitherto been thought. It may be that we Hindus have in some measure to thank ourselves for this result. It may be that our claims to an exceedingly high antiquity have in the natural course provoked this reaction. This may be. But if this is so, then those who put themselves forward — workers in the field of "oriental research," and connect with their labours the venerable and dignified name of science, are bound to be on their guard against this reaction.

But to return. After the evidence we have set out above to show the antiquity of the belief in Krishna as a God, it is not very necessary to go into the other surrounding matters referred to by Professor Weber. Nevertheless as it is not quite useless to do so, we shall take a rapid review of them. I pass over the assumptions, which I contend are quite unwarranted, contained in such expressions as "Individual Christian teachers.....would not be without influence in the early time," or "Natives of India who filled up in their own way what they had learned in foreign countries," or "prepared by the current tendency of Indian Philosophy towards a concrete unity."<sup>\*</sup> I pass this over, and come to the points on which, according to Professor Weber, "the whole question turns." Now the statement of the first point by Professor Weber himself shows how little any person is

---

\* *Ind. Ant.* II. 283a.

warranted in talking about the borrowing of Christian dogmas by oriental people. It is difficult, as Professor Weber himself admits, to say what has been borrowed by the Gnostics from the "Indians" and vice versa. And the only remark which I need make with reference to this is, that I am not aware that there is much more material for deciding on the question as applied to the period preceding the rise of the Gnostic sects.\* And when Professor Weber speaks of the reciprocal action and mutual influence of Gnostic and Indian conceptions in the first centuries of the Christian Era as being "evident," I think, he might with advantage have shown the grounds for this opinion; especially as it comes immediately after the admission made by himself about the difficulty of saying how much in each is original and how much borrowed. The second point of Professor Weber refers to Varāhamihir's silence to which reference has been already made. The third point is a good specimen of the vagueness in which great names can afford to indulge with impunity. "This worship of Krishṇa," says Professor Weber, "has no intelligible connexion with his earlier position in the Brahmanical legends. There is a gap between the two which apparently nothing but the supposition of an external influence can account for." Now what is the "gap" which requires explanation? What is the "external influence" which affords that explanation? The gap, admittedly, is not wider than that between a great human hero, and a hero regarded as an incarnation of the Deity. Is the transition from the one — the other such an immensely sudden, unusual, and inexplicable transition, that you must imagine some "external influence" to explain it? I have my

\* About these sects there has been quite a legion of conflicting opinions. See the sources of them collected in Giesseler's Compendium of Ecclesiastical History Vol. I 135. One writer there mentioned derives the Gnostic doctrine from Buddhism,

own doubts as to the existence of this alleged "gap." But even assuming its existence, it appears to me that a fact of most frequent occurrence in the religious history of the Hindus—and also I may add of other peoples—is enough to account for it—the fact, namely, that a man who is thought to be remarkably superior to his contemporaries in any qualities of great worth is easily believed, in a certain condition of society, to have been more than human. And it must not be forgotten, that even in the case of Christianity itself, eminent critics have maintained, that "the New Testament alone, represents several stages of dogmatic evolution," and that "no one can have attentively studied the subject without being struck by the absence of any such (scil. supernatural) dogmas from the earlier records of the teaching of Jesus."<sup>\*</sup> Are we not here also to look about for some "external influence?" I own, it seems to me a thoroughly mistaken view, which always seeks for the causes of such 'gaps,' where they exist, in 'external influence.' In most cases, the natural evolution of the religious idea in certain conditions of society, is quite sufficient to explain them. What "external influence" was at work in the apotheosis of S'ankaracharya in modern times, or of the Rishis in the times of the Veds?

The legend of the S'vetadvip, to which Professor Weber goes on next to refer, does not appear to me to be entitled to the weight which the Professor attaches to it. I confess, I cannot see the flimsiest possible ground for identifying the S'vetadvip of the legend with Alexandria, or Asia Minor, or the British Isles,† or any other country or region

\* Supernatural Religion II. *ad finem*.

† This has been done by Col. Wilford, Asiatic Researches Vol. XI.

in this world. The Dvip is in the first place stated to lie to the North of the Kshirasamudra; and to the North West of Mount Meru, and above it by thirty-two thousand yojana. I should like to know, what geography has any notion of the quarter of this earth where we are to look for that sea of milk and that mount of gold. Consider next the description of the wonderful people inhabiting this wonderful Dvip.

ते अहसार्पिण्डे हैं करुणनि समावनम् ।

वृषभेन्द्रिया भिराहारा भगवदाः सुगन्धिः ॥ २१ ॥

It will be news to the world, that there were in Alexandria or elsewhere a whole people without any organs of sense, who ate nothing, and who entered the sun--whatever that may mean! Remember, too, that the instruction which Nārad receives in this wonderful land is not received from its inhabitants, but from Bhagavān, from God himself. Nor let it be forgotten, that the doctrines which the Deity there announces to Nārad cannot be shown to have any connexion whatever with Christianity. On the contrary, I think, it must be at once admitted, that the whole of the protection addressed to Nārad bears on its face its essentially Indian character, in the references to the three qualities, to the twenty-five primal principles, to the description of final emancipation as absorption or entrance into the Divinity, and various other matters of the like character. Against all this what have we to consider? Why, nothing more than the description of the inhabitants as white, and as करुणनः which, Prof. Weber thinks, means monotheists (Sed quare). It appears to me, that the story is a mere work of the imagination, and that if anybody else had made any use of it as even in its nucleus historical, Prof. Weber himself and other European scholars would have objected to its use in any such way. And in-

dependently of this, I say, that historical or unhistorical, the story shows no tangible reference to Christianity or any Christian country.

We now proceed to Prof. Weber's fifth and last point, and here again we have an instance of that vagueness, which we have already complained of, and which is so difficult to fairly grapple with. What explanation has Christianity given of the legends corresponding to those referred to here by Prof. Weber? What ground has Prof. Weber for saying that "individual Christian teachers" did not receive those legends in Hindu hands? What has Christ got to do with "life as a herdsman"? The whole question appears to me to be looked at under such conditions, that the result presented is inevitably one-sided.

Dr. Lorinser goes on next to refer to Mr. Wheeler, and to Mr. Wheeler's anonymous Reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, who both assert this "borrowing from Christianity." It is perfectly useless, however, to multiply authorities in this fashion. The point which Dr. Lorinser is here endeavouring to make out is the probability of the author of the Gita having made use of the New Testament. Dr. Lorinser admits, both expressly and by implication, the intrinsic improbability of such a thing. And that being so, the production of a whole Olympus of mere authority cannot outweigh that improbability. The question is not one to be decided by authority at all, and most assuredly not by the authority of a Weber or a Wheeler. Upon the question whether the Hindus have borrowed from Christians, the mere authority of Christian scholars, I must take leave to say, is in my opinion worth nothing at all. There is but one other remark which I need make upon this point, and that is, that the broad assertions of Wheeler and his Reviewer are all founded upon the very narrow and frail

basis afforded by the assumption, that from the coincidence between Hindu and Christian legends the inference of the former being the copy and the latter the original is irresistible. I once more lodge my humble but firm protest against this unwarranted assumption.

To proceed. Having summed up the result of this part of the inquiry, Dr. Lorinser now goes on to couple with it another argument, which according to him sublimates the "possibility" thus far proved into "conclusive proof." That other argument is based on the coincidences between passages in the Gita and in the New Testament. These passages Dr. Lorinser marshals into three classes. Now although it is not to be denied, that his first and third classes of passages must be of some value in this discussion, I cannot admit that the second class of passages is worth anything at all. To draw conclusions from a comparison of the words of two works in original when divorced from their contexts is very dangerous; to draw such conclusions with one work in original and the other in a translation is more dangerous still; to draw such conclusions with both works in translations is most dangerous of all. But how much is even this superlative degree of danger heightened, when the translator is one who comes to his work with the spectacles of a theory? How much more is it heightened, when that theory is one propounded by the translator himself, and one, therefore, for which he would naturally feel that paternal love, which, as Plato tells us, every poet and every author feels for the work of his intellect!

With this preliminary caution, let us now proceed to examine the first class of passages adduced by Dr. Lorinser. And on the very first passage (Gita III. 6) it must be remarked, that the coincidence, if any, is a very slight one indeed. The

passage in the Gita deals with a case of difference between the inner and the outer man. The passage in Matthew has no reference at all to such a difference, but with regard to the inner man, it says, that a sinful feeling should not even be harboured in the heart, for to harbour such a feeling ■ itself to commit a sin. There ■ here, therefore, not merely a difference in expression, but also a difference in meaning. As to the note on this passage, it affords one out of the many instances of dogmatism in this essay of Dr. Lorinser's, and simply begs the question. "The peculiar stress," says Dr. Lorinser, "laid on the inner purity of the mind in the Bhagavadgita would itself alone suggest the influence of Christian ideas, even if other vestiges of it could not be pointed out." It is scarcely necessary to pit against this wonderfully dogmatic asseveration anything better than a mere "Certainly not." But perhaps it may not be out of place ■ add that, having regard to the fact that Jesus's own doctrine as enunciated above comes by way of improvement on the previous teaching of the Old Testament, it is more likely, upon the principles of Dr. Lorinser and of his great authority Professor Weber, that Jesus only learnt it elsewhere and did not work it out himself. And we may also refer to the strong and clear statement of this very valuable idea in the Buddhistic Dhammapad.<sup>6</sup> On the second passage (III. 32) there is a note similar to the above as to S'raddha and Bhakti. The fact, however, ■ that while we have allusions to faith and its efficacy in Indian Literature of a date unquestionably prior to Christianity,

---

\* See the passage cited at 5 Journal Royal Asiatic Society (N. S.) 229. About the antiquity of the Dhammapad which was commented on by Buddhaghosh about 400 A. D. (See "Was the Rāmāyaṇa copied from Homer?" p. 12) I do not think even Dr. Lorinser or Professor Weber will venture to raise any doubt. And see also II J. R. A. S. 179 ff.

the Christian doctrine of faith is by Dr. Strauss pronounced a new-fangled one.\* What is the conclusion hence derivable? With regard to the third passage (III. 34), 'desire and inclination' is evidently a mistake; it ought to be 'desire and aversion'; and it seems to me, that on this shoal some at least of Dr. Lorinser's argument is stranded. As to the coincidence, ■■■ clear, that the passage of the Gita has no reference to sin, which appears from the context to be the main idea in the passage in the Epistle; while 'lusts' also only represents one half of the idea in the Gita, and indeed ■■■ essentially different. And again while the passage from the Epistle refers to 'enemies of god,' the passage of the Gita refers to the 'enemies of oneself.' On the latter part of the note on the passage, it is further to be observed, that in Matthew .X. 36 only a sectarian or a mystic can see any reference to the 'lust which dwells in man.' Lastly as to the 'Christian doctrine of concupiscence' I do not see its bearing on the passage at all. On the fourth passage (IV. 4) it would be well to remember the sequel of the claim made by Jesus. The fifth instance of coincidence (VI. 5) is, I think, at the best only apparent and superficial. While Krishna is there speaking of the Transmigration of the Soul, Jesus has not the remotest conception of it in his words. The lengthy note on this passage, however, requires also a somewhat lengthy treatment. And first, Dr. Lorinser holds, of course without assigning reasons, that "the Avatars all belong to the Purâps, hence to a post-Christian age." Now there are three assertions involved in this, two of which may or may not be correct, the third of which is certainly not correct, and all of which are without the slightest proof. It is not

\* The question is discussed somewhat more fully in the sequel.

† See the notes on our translation of this passage.

proved (*pace* Prof. Wilson and others) that the Purâps are post-Christian;<sup>\*</sup> it is not proved that the 'Avatars all belong to the Purâps'; it is not proved that the Avatars are post-Christian, but on the contrary it is proved that they are ante-Christian. Dr. Lorinser, after some remarks which is not necessary here to refer to, proceeds:—"In my opinion, there can, at present, be no doubt whatever, that the incarnation of Vishnu as Kṛishṇa, the only one represented as a truly human incarnation of the person of the god, is an imitation of the Christian dogma regarding the person of Christ." Now so far is this from being correct, so far is this 'imitation' from being beyond doubt, that the reverse of it is now demonstrated. Vishnu's incarnation as Kṛishṇa dates from the time of Patanjali if not of Pāṇini—in either case, from before the time when the incarnation of Jesus existed, so to speak, as a fact; much more before it existed as a belief; still more before it was transmitted to India as a belief. The allegation again, that none of the other Avatars except Kṛishṇa were 'truly human,' simply forgets Parasūrām, and Rām, and I may add Buddha. Dr. Lorinser goes on to state the reasons for his 'opinion.' The first, the similarity of the name Kṛishṇa to Christ is, I take leave to say, a mere *ignis fatuus*, not worth very much more than that travesty of philology where vowels interchange and consonants matter not. The many coincidences in the legends, if they are of much value in the investigation, are not more consistent with the theory of imitation as propounded by Christian scholars than with that theory read the other way. And more than this, the latter, I think, is more likely to prove the more correct view. Dr. Lorinser further adds, that the imitation "is pointed to, as may be specially shown, by the Bhagavadgītā itself."

---

\* Compare our Introduction to Bhāṣṭakā, p. vii, et seq.

The only observation this calls for is—why in the world is it not shown? If it could be shown, it would almost, I might say altogether, decide the question. Why, I ask again, ■ it not shown? But to proceed. The sixth coincidence (IV. 8) Dr. Lorinser might have made more thorough by adding to the passage cited from the Gita a portion which his translation omits—"for the destruction of evil-doers." On the other hand it should also be noted, that the Gita says "from time to time," to which there is nothing similar in the Christian passages, yet it ■ of the very essence of the doctrine of the Gita. On the eighth passage (V. 8) it is to be remarked that the first part of it certainly does not coincide with the passages cited by Dr. Lorinser. It has nothing to do with the glorification of God at all, it is only conversant with the question—what is the active principle in man? And the answer is—Not the soul. The latter portion is much nearer the meaning of the passages cited, but there is another passage which is nearer still, but which, strangely enough, Dr. Lorinser does not allude to either in this place or anywhere else. That passage is Gita IX. 27. The next passage discloses a coincidence only ■ misunderstood. The passage from the Gita is not so general as divorced from its context in Dr. Lorinser's citation it appears to be. But it is perfectly clear that it must be interpreted ■ connexion with its context, and thus interpreted, I do not think, that anybody will be able ■ trace the slightest coincidence. In the next passage (V. 16) there ■ again a mistake. There is no reference to "minds"■ in the original of the Gita; and without that, there is little to liken ■ to the passage cited from 2 Pet. I. 19. Even with that, the coincidence is of such a nature, that nothing can, in my opinion, turn

\* Probably Dr. Lorinser has so misunderstood the word मृणः.—

upon it—not to say, that the differences between the two passages are perfectly obvious. The same remark applies to the next passage (V. 23). Calling a thing a "temptation," and calling it the "agitation (for it is not exactly pressure) produced by desire and anger," if they are one and the same thing, are at least two different sides of it; and in fact the difference of language seems to me to be only typical of the difference in the two points of view. What is the object of bidding us in the note to compare I. Cor. VII. 40 "as to Sukhi Nara," is, I must confess, more than I can make out. What follows, however, I can make out, and do certainly deny. Dr. Lorinser says:—"The idea enunciated in this S'loka bears an entirely Christian stamp." I say, on the contrary, that it is an essentially Hindu idea; and I do repudiate the claim put forward by Dr. Lorinser on behalf of Christianity. I must own, too, that the quotation from Chrysostom seems to me to be scarcely relevant. The next passage (VI. 10) well exemplifies the danger of wrenching passages out of their contexts for purposes of comparison. The whole of the passage from the Gita shows the object of the "secret" to be the avoidance of interruptions; and Ânandagiri says so expressly:—*विग्रहेणाप्यकरु-  
द्धमनिष्ठृतेऽपि जपते*. Now what is the meaning of the passage in Matthew? Why, it is a warning against making a show and pomp of piety. Do not, Jesus says, and if I may add it well says, do not pray in public that you may be seen praying and thus regarded as a pious man. Admirable advice! But what has it to do with the admonition given by Kṛishṇa? The passages are entirely distinct in meaning. The word 'secret,' indeed, does occur in both; but the meanings of the two are not thereby brought nearer each other at all. Whether there is a coincidence in the next instance adduced by Dr.

\* Compare Sutta Nipata by Sir Muir Coomar Swamy p. 108.

Lorinser (VI. 16) depends to a certain extent upon the true interpretation of the passage from Matthew. My own opinion is that Jesus's teaching allows much more liberty than Krishna's, and that there is but a very slight coincidence. This, however, only as far as Dr. Lorinser sets out the passages; when the other portions of the passage from the Gita are considered, I think it will be found, that there is no reason for supposing any connexion between the two. In the next passage (VI. 39) I fail to see any coincidence. And it is beyond question that the circumstances are essentially distinguishable. Nor, I think, is there really any coincidence in the next passage adduced (VII. 1-3). Then again, as to the sixteenth passage, (VII. 14) there appears to me to be a very important distinction between the deliverances of Krishna and Christ. The former speaks of illusion, the latter of burden—a distinction, which again appears to me typical of the essential difference between the two. In the next passage, (VII. 15) again, I can see no coincidence except, indeed, it be that based on 'demonine' in the one passage and 'devil' in the other. In the following two passages (VII. 16 and VII. 23) I can see no coincidences, when the passages in the Gita are considered, as only they ought to be, in connexion with their contexts.\* The translation of the second passage is not correct on the most vital point in the comparison. And it is also worth observing, that whereas Dr. Lorinser quotes Matthew XI. 28 against the passage at Gita VII. 16 as well as against that at Gita VII. 14, there is little coincidence between these two passages of the Gita itself. This shows how exceedingly slight, to say no more, are the coincidences which sometimes satisfy Dr. Lorinser's mind.

\* See our translation of the passage, and compare the sequel of with the words 'every good gift and every perfect gift' in James i. 17.

In the next passage (VII. 26) I see a difference just as clearly as a coincidence. In the twenty-first passage (VII. 27) the expression यज्ञमृतं certainly misunderstood, and the coincidence, besides being open to a remark already made as to the addition of aversion to desire in the Sanskrit, is also very slight. The next passage (VII. 28) contains an even slighter coincidence, if it can be called a coincidence at all. In the next passage (VII. 29)\* there is a difference more remarkable than the alleged coincidence. The two passages from John, the one referred to in the text and the other in the note, speak only of death, while the Gita speaks of old age also—and yet, Dr. Lorinser, in the note, once more thinks it proper to dogmatize, and although he produces not a single passage from the Christian Scriptures referring to "liberation from old age," he undertakes to say, that the idea "that taking refuge in Kṛishṇa liberates from old age and death, is an idea so foreign to Indian Philosophy that its origin can only be Christian". Such reckless dogmatism,† for by no other name can it be justly described, is not calculated to make converts to Dr. Lorinser's views. Again मामभित्वा in the Gita is certainly very different from the expression "if a man keep my saying" and not quite the same thing with the expression in John XI. 26. Once more, the point of the two passages in John is entirely different from that of the passage in the Gita, as may be seen from the remaining portion of the latter which is not quoted by Dr. Lorinser. In the next passage

\* It may be mentioned too, that यज्ञमृतं is not accurately rendered by 'have fled unto me.'

† If Dr. Lorinser had given but a moment's thought to the grand old story of Buddha, he might have been saved from the error of making this extraordinary statement. And see too Kathopanishad I. 12. 28. Pras'na V. 7. Mundak. II. 7.

again (VIII. 7) no coincidence can be traced. The idea of the father 'giving' is certainly not found in the passage from the Gītā. And as ■ "casting out," that too has nothing answering to ■ in the passage cited. There is something nearer to it in Gītā VI. 30. The passages in the note from John are to the effect that knowing or believing in Jesus is everlasting life. That ■ not the way it is put in the passage in the Gītā; and the difference is again noteworthy, as showing the essential difference of the two systems. And this being so, the Christian trace "too clear to be overlooked" is nowhere. On the contrary I cannot but repeat here, that the idea appears to be eminently Hindu. The remark on "Karma Divyam" I must confess I do not understand.\* And I may add, that the similarity which in Dr. Lorinser's eyes is so unmistakable between that expression and the verses from John referred to by him is perfectly obscure to my weaker vision. In the next passage (VIII. 9) there is some coincidence. In the next one after that (VIII. 23) there is much less, and St. Paul himself says his teaching is not novel but common to him with the Greek Philosophers. In the twenty-seventh passage (IX. 1) "with understanding" is a blunder in the translation, and the "mysteries of the kingdom of god" are something which differ *sotto cœlo* from the "hidden knowledge" taught by Krishna.† There is some coincidence in the next passage (IX. 11). On the next passage to this (IX. 11, 12) the remark made before on "demoniac" and "the devil" fully applies. Beyond that, I see no coincidence between the two

\* I may remark, that it is quite wrong to say that कर्मदिव्यम् is the 'designation' which "Krishna applies ■ his incarnation." But this is a minor point.

† Nor is there any such distinction in the Gītā as that indicated in the passage from St. Luke.

passages cited. In the next passage, 'transient' is not a correct rendering of अनाप्त. There is some difference, too, between the 'law of the Ved' and 'the tenets of the Scribes and the Pharisees.' 'The kingdom of Heaven' also, as understood by Jesus, is different from the 'Heaven' (स्वर्ण) spoken of by Krishna in the foregoing portion of the passage cited. And the most important point is, that whereas Jesus speaks of righteousness, Krishna speaks of abandoning desires. In the next passage (IX. 23) there is a misprint in the reference. The verse is the twenty-third not the twenty-eighth. I do not feel sure here about the meaning of Paul's words, but if 'ignorantly' has, as it seems to have, reference to the word 'unknown' in the sentence preceding, it seems to me that there is no real coincidence in this case. In the next passage (IX. 29), the contexts, I think, show that much of the similarity is merely apparent. In passage No. 83. (IX. 20) there is really no coincidence whatever,\* and it is further to be observed that one word in the Gita is not translated by Dr. Lorinser. And yet it is of almost vital importance here. That word is the word आपि. In the thirty-fourth passage (IX. 33 ; 28 in the original is a misprint) there is some coincidence, but not very much, I think. What is the coincidence in the next passage (X. 1) or in that which follows (X. 9)? I own I see much difference and little similarity. And when in passage No. 87 (X. 11) Dr. Lorinser quotes a sentence from Mark in which the word 'compassion' is used, one feels tempted to ask, what possible conclusion can such a comparison lead to? Dr. Lorinser apparently wishes the passage from 2 Cor. IV. 6 to be read together with that. But that, even if

\* The passages cited in the note on this have a slight similarity, but only a slight one, to one another. I can see nothing, however, connect them with the passage discussed in the text.

ble from the point of view of an "apologetic critic," ■ certainly inadmissible, more especially in such an inquiry as the present. Nor, I think, is the similarity exhibited even after so coupling the two passages, of any significance. The next passage (X. 14, 15) is again an instance where we have an unquestionably peculiar doctrine of Christianity which has no parallel in the Gita, while the similarity insisted on by Dr. Lorinser is a very vague one on an immaterial point. In the next passage (XI. 20) I see great differences. In passage No. 40 (XI. 22) there ■ nothing about belief in the Gita where the 'blessed ones' are mentioned ■ well as the 'devils'. In the next passage (XI. 52) I do not quite understand the quotation from Peter, but as far as I do understand it, I think there is very little in it to compare to the passage from the Gita. In the next passage (XII. 7) "the world of mortality" appears to me to involve an idea essentially distinct from "the body of this death," and it is simply allowing ourselves to be deceived by words to suppose any coincidence between them. In the next passage (XII. 8) there is, it seems to me, such an absence of coincidence, that the ideas of the Gita and the Epistle are in my opinion clearly and obviously distinct from each other. And the little appearance of similarity which there is, is based on a mistranslation of अस्ति by 'on high.'\* In the next passage (XII. 14) "bringing every thought to the obedience of Christ," seems to me a very different thing from "giving heart and understanding to me." In the next passage (XIII. 17) 'far from darkness is his name' ■ wrong. In the next passage (XIII. 17) the verses noted at foot appear to be nearer the passage in the Gita than the one cited against

\* अस्ति निर्वाचित also is inaccurately rendered by 'live with me.'

it. In the forty-seventh (XIII. 25) I can see no coincidence at all; nor in the next one either, (XIV. 2) for whereas the Gita in this passage refers to the doctrine of metempsychosis, and indeed can be understood only with reference to that doctrine, the passages from John and the Revelation, of course, have no such meaning. How Dr. Lorinser can have persuaded himself that there is a coincidence in the next passage (XIV. 14) passes my comprehension.\* There is, I think, a very important distinction between the drift of the next passage from the Gita (XV. 15) and the sentence from John cited by Dr. Lorinser against it. In the next passage (XV. 19) I again fail to see any coincidence whatever, and in the next one after that (XVI. 5) I see most important differences. Once more, in the fifty-third passage (XVI. 9-11.) I do not see that there is any coincidence. And in the fifty-fourth (XVI. 12, 15) there is but a very superficial one. Dr. Lorinser indeed thinks it 'striking', but I altogether disagree with him. In the next instance adduced by Dr. Lorinser (XVI. 24) there is some similarity, but there is also considerable difference, and on the next (XVIII. 46) it is again to be remarked that the passage from the Epistle to the Corinthians there cited is also cited by Dr. Lorinser against Gita V. 8 10, and if one reads these two stanzas in connexion with Gita XVIII. 46, one will find it, I think, very difficult to see what coincidence there is between these two passages. Nor is it by any means easier, on the contrary it is perhaps more difficult, to perceive any coincidence in the next passage (XVIII. 55). As to the last citation (XVIII. 67), the only coincidence appears to be that between a very general precept and a very special case, but there is scarcely any perceptible bond of connexion between the passages.

\* सत्ते प्रसूते in this passage, is unquestionably not 'after his nature fully grown.'

After enumerating sixty different passages in this manner, Dr. Lorinser adds that "several more might easily be added to them." I of course accept this statement, though it might have been better if references at least had been given to guide us to these other coincidences. But this I am entitled to say, that the coincidences which have not been set out may very safely be taken to be very much less remarkable than any of those which have been set out; and that being so, after what I have said before, I do not think that they are entitled to any weight in this discussion. Dr. Lorinser, then, coupling the frequency of the coincidences noted by him with what he is pleased to call "the specially Christian character of the thoughts," comes to the conclusion that these are "suspicious" circumstances. Upon the coincidences, we shall presently see what their cumulative effect comes to, but as to "the specially Christian character," I need say nothing more than that it is the very thing to be proved. And although Dr. Lorinser, and perhaps other Christian scholars also, may think ■ superfluous ■ prove this, I contend that that proof is indispensable. Dr. Lorinser next proceeds to "add the fact that we can prove from other sources the influence of Christian traditions on the development of the Krishna-cultus," and finally infers that the "hypothesis of an external connexion" ■ not "a very far-fetched one." On this I only remark, that so far is this influence from being 'proved,' that it is not even attested by strong evidence, and that there are exceedingly powerful arguments against the supposition of any such influence. I need not say more, because the question has been sufficiently dwelt on already.

Before going on to the next class of passages adduced by Dr. Lorinser, I think it necessary to state what I conceive to be the aggregate result of Dr. Lorinser's numerous citations.

And I have no hesitation in saying that I consider it to be quite insignificant. Some of the coincidences turn upon the doctrine of faith as to which something will have to be said further on. Some of the doctrines on which coincidences are observable are such as will be seen to have been the property of Hinduism long before the birth of Christ. The omniscience of God, the duty of doing everything "in the name of the Lord," are doctrines which no theist need borrow from another. And that the Hindus were theists independently of Christianity cannot be gainsaid. As to the Avatars we have already spoken, and the idea appears to me to be an original idea of Hinduism. To sum up, therefore, not only are most of these coincidences individually very slight; not only do they turn upon such points, that the inference of a "borrowing" by Hinduism cannot possibly arise from them; but taking them all together and examining their cumulative effect, I repeat that they come ~~in~~ very little indeed. And this quite independently of the argument which has been already hinted at, but which cannot be too often repeated, that reasoning from these coincidences to a borrowing by Hinduism is most assuredly a non sequitur. True ~~it~~ is, indeed, that the cumulative effect of these passages has to be coupled again with the results yielded by the other classes of passages to be hereafter considered. But it is to be noted meanwhile, that unless some clearly appreciable force can be claimed by this class taken by itself, the mere coupling of it with the others cannot give greater support to the final conclusion.

Come we now to the next class of passages, those which, according to Dr. Lorimer, contain a "characteristic expression of the New Testament with a different application." These passages, however, need not detain us long, for they are in the strongest manner open to the observations made above

with regard to the inferences drawn from comparisons of passages, not to say that the words "characteristic expression" seem to beg the whole question.\* It may however be useful to direct attention to some points in connexion with this class of passages. I do not think there is more than a very deceptive verbal agreement in the first passage. And in the next (Gita III. 23), I cannot help thinking, we have the search for coincidences run mad. In the passage from Gita III. 31, 'blaspheme' is not by any means a correct rendering of वृग्. That word means देवदीर्घ वृग्; and the rendering of वृग् by the word 'blaspheme' appears to me a wresting of it out of its proper sense for pointing a similarity when none exists. To proceed. The next coincidence (IV. 9) has been observed upon before. And in the next passage but one following that, (IV. 37) it is absolutely impossible, I think, to insist on the coincidence. What similarity is there between eating "the nectar of the leavings of a sacrifice" (IV. 31) and "eating of his bread"? In the next passage (IV. 38) faith being unquestionably different from knowledge—the "characteristic expression" in which Dr. Lorinser sees a similarity is contained in the word "purify"! In Gita VII. 18 गति is not, as Dr. Lorinser wrongly renders it, 'way,' but more nearly 'goal,' a modification which not only makes the two passages different, verbally, but almost diametrically opposite to one another both verbally and really. In the next passage (VII. 28) 'sin is destroyed' appears to constitute an expression "cha-

\* When Dr. Lorinser says, as he does in the sequel of this passage, that "the composer of the Bhagavadgita, was very far from being a Christian, or understanding rightly the Christian doctrines, since he only used Christian maxims to illustrate his Indian Sankhya and Yoga doctrines," he seems unwittingly to lay bare one very weak point in his theory.

xacteristic" of the New Testament!<sup>10</sup> In the next passage the word वृग् occurs again, and 'royal learning' is not, I think, an admirable rendering for वृग्वा. It means, the "prince of learning," as the commentators render it. In X. 9 'dead in me' is certainly an incorrect rendering.

It is unnecessary, however, to dwell any longer on this class of passages, although there is extensive room for criticism. And we therefore proceed to the next class on which Dr. Lorinser lays greatest stress. Now on the very first citation, it appears to me that there is no "agreement" between the two passages—certainly not in meaning—and scarcely even in expression. In the first place वृग् does not mean 'every day,' and 'steps' is scarcely an accurate rendering for गति. The passage means, I think,—as the commentators correctly interpret it—that God confers favours on men in a manner answering to the intentions and motives with which men worship him; but however men may act, i. e., to whatsoever form of the Deity they may in appearance address themselves, they really address themselves to Vishnu. This meaning appears to me derivable from the words of the text, and one, which fits in with what goes before and what comes after the passage under discussion. And taking this meaning, it appears to me to be impossible to see any "agreement" between this passage and those from John cited against it. The next citation (VI. 5-6) introduces us to a couple of passages neither of which is as clear as it might be. In the translation of the Sanskrit Dr. Lorinser again differs from the commentators, and not, as I submit, to his advantage. In the last clause, "by its hostility" gives a very different sense from the natural one

<sup>10</sup> Remark, too, that the New Testament has the peculiar expression 'body of sin' to which we have nothing parallel in the Gita.

## INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

of the locative यज्ञः. Further the translation does not show how that clause explains the previous words 'it is also his fee,' which yet it is evidently meant to explain. Lastly, the clause as translated conveys no clear meaning at all. One other point is remarkable with respect to this translation. The blank ■ represented in the original by अन्तर्वासिरेत्, which in English would be "one should not cast oneself down." Now this is not only different from, but almost diametrically opposed to, a portion of the sentences from the New Testament which Dr. Lorimer adduces. Why was it omitted from the translation? As I have said, the passages from the Bible are not particularly lucid any more than that from the Gita. But I understand them to mean, that whoever is desirous of the pleasures of this world must forego those of the other world and vice versa. Now the meaning of the verses in the Gita, I understand with the commentators to be this—that a man who does not keep his senses under control ■ an enemy to himself, whereas he who ■ self-restrained benefits himself. Of course, ■ is possible to trace a certain coincidence between the two precepts at bottom; but I do not think ■ comes to much, and after all the reduction of the one to the other is not a very direct process. I own that to my mind, both in expression and meaning, these passages present but a very slight agreement. In the next citation, there is an agreement to some extent, but for the essentially Christian idea of "my Father," the Gita has nothing to show. निषेधः is rendered by 'above possessions.' The rendering is not inadmissible, but it also to a certain extent differentiates the two passages. And the coincidence which there fails to support the inference which it is sought to base on it. In the next citation (VII: 26) there is a coincidence, if 'see' is interpreted in the sense of 'understand,' and not otherwise; and the context seems

to file against this interpretation. But surely Dr. Lorinser goes too far when ■ grounds a claim on behalf of Christianity ■ have lent ideas to Hinduism, on such a passage ■ this, on a passage positing nothing more than the unknowability of God. In the next citation न विद्यते is not 'easy to understand'; अस्ति न विद्यते is not 'not sweet to do.' Here again even ■ the ideas are looked upon as to a certain extent one at bottom, still the associations through which they are conveyed are essentially different. And there can be no doubt that the words really show no agreement at all. In the next (IX. 18) the apparent agreement is the result of a mistranslation. ति ■ not way, it is more accurately the 'goal,' not that by which you go, but that to which you go. And this mode of putting the matter, which is the only correct one, shows the essential distinction between the two systems. With the New Testament writers, Jesus is but a sort of guide to the goal; with the author of the Gita, Kṛishṇa is himself the goal. What Dr. Lorinser renders by beginning and end, again, is really and truly producer and destroyer or absorber, so that the whole coincidence vanishes in an error of translation! In the next citation (IX. 19) there ■ almost an appearance of disingenuousness, and I am bound to say that I was in the first instance deceived by what has been done. The passage as given from Matthew by Dr. Lorinser appears to me to convey an entirely different sense from that which ■ would have if given in its integrity; and ■ is only by omitting essential words that the appearance of "agreement" is obtained. One is almost tempted to call this garbling, but without going so far, I do think that the circumstance requires explanation. In the next citation (VI. 30), I have not understood the meaning of the passage from John,\* and for

\* As explained by Barnes, the meaning of it does not appear to

the essentially Christian idea contained in the words omitted by Dr. Lorinser what has the Gītā to show? The next passage, also from John is no less mystical. And I do not think it can possibly yield the sense which is put by the commentators on the passage from the Gītā. The passage from Gītā X. 5. appears, to me, I confess, to show but little agreement with the passage cited against it. On the next citation (X. 8) we have again a somewhat obscure passage from the Romans, which, however, does seem to show some similarity to the passage from the Gītā. As to the two citations which follow, they do show coincidences, but it may be doubted whether they are of any value. In the next citation after these (X. 33) I cannot help believing that Dr. Lorinser has again missed the sense of the Gītā. "Among letters I am A" is not equivalent to "I am the beginning and the ending;" and not only is it not equivalent to this, its meaning is wholly and entirely different. Kṛishṇa, in the passage of which the words cited form part, is describing the best things of every class, and identifying them with the Deity. And when he says 'I am A among the letters,' he understands 'A' to be the principal letter, as embracing all the "Vāñmaya" as the commentators say. The sense of the passage from the Book of Revelations is of course and evidently distinct from this. The next passage, (XVIII. 66) however, shows a real agreement. But upon a review of the passages which thus do show a real "agreement," how much do they really come to? Are they really such as to give rise to the inference based on them? I must confess, that I cannot so look on them. The real "agreements" are all on points of such a very ordinary description as God's being the creator of the

---

one coincide with that of the passage from the Gītā against which Dr. Lorinser cites it, or even with Gītā IX. 29 which more like it.

world, the forgiver of sinners, and so forth. Does Dr. Lorinser really think, that the Hindus must have gone to the New Testament for these substances? It appears to me so extravagant a supposition, that I think to state it is to refute it. And yet upon this set of passages Dr. Lorinser hedges his case more particularly, and talks about the "borrowing appearing clearly" in them.

Thus have we gone through all the various passages adduced by Dr. Lorinser as exhibiting those coincidences with passages in the Christian Scriptures which appear to him to lead the conclusion that the former must have borrowed from the latter. We have endeavoured to point out in the course of our investigation of these passages the various errors in the translations from the Gita. We believe we have shown enough of these both in number and quality, to justify the remark, made at the beginning of this part of the investigation, about the danger of comparing translations and basing inferences on such comparisons. We have endeavoured further to show, that even in some of those cases in which the renderings are not incorrect, it is difficult to see any coincidence as alleged. We have also endeavoured to argue that in some of the passages where there is no error in the rendering and where there is some coincidence, that coincidence is so far-fetched, requires such a lengthened process of reasoning to arrive at, that it is impossible to maintain successfully the theory of "borrowing" on the strength of those passages. Lastly we contend that in the very small balance of coincidences remaining, the teaching of the Gita refers to points on which it is not only unnecessary to adopt the theory of borrowing, but simply impossible to adopt such a theory. We may, perhaps, be permitted to add also, that in some cases, we have referred to passages in the

Gita more nearly agreeing with the passages from the Bible cited by Dr. Lorinser than those referred to by him—in order that the true state of the case might be presented to the honest investigator, as far as it was, in our power, so to present it. What now is the total outcome? On fully considering the matter, I must say that I can come to but one conclusion—Dr. Lorinser's contention is not borne out by these passages. He has failed to show that the "agreements" between the two works are of such a nature as to give rise to the inference of a borrowing by the Gita. He has failed to show, though he has asserted it with not a little strength of expression, that the coincidences are with regard to doctrines characteristic of the New Testament. He has failed—to borrow an appropriate expression of Professor Tyndall's—to look round the grand question before him. I believe that Dr. Lorinser's argument fails in many ways. It fails to furnish an adequate number of real coincidences. It fails to show that those coincidences are of such a nature as to give rise to the inference he seeks to draw. It fails to show that the 'borrowing,' if there was any, was on the part of the Hindu writer from the Christian. On the whole, I have come to the conclusion, that not only does the strong language of Dr. Lorinser find no warrant in the circumstances set forth by him, not only is there no "proof" of the theory he has propounded, there is not even any likelihood in favour of that theory. The circumstances will not support even a strong suspicion of a "borrowing" by the author of the Gita.

Dr. Lorinser next proceeds to observe, in confirmation of what he calls "the results already won," that large "sections of the gospel narrative have been imitated in the Gita." And the first "section" referred to is that

of the Transfiguration of Christ. Now there is no denying the fact, that there is a certain degree of similarity between the two narratives. At the same time, it must, I think, be admitted that the similarity extends no further than the fact of the transfiguration, if what occurred to Jesus ought really to be called by that name. The manner of the occurrence, the details of the occurrence, the motive, so to speak, of the occurrence, are all wholly and entirely dissimilar in the two narratives. And in describing the scene as exhibited 'at Arjun's request,' and as showing Krishna's 'infinite divine glory in which he comprehends the universe in himself,' Dr. Lorinser himself appears to me to have indicated two important points of difference. For Jesus's transfiguration consists in nothing more than an extraordinary addition to the glory of his countenance, and is an act unsuggested by the disciples. Again, the form assumed by Krishna ■ represented as one which even the Gods are anxious to see, and as one becoming visible only to those who have faith exclusively fixed on Krishna. Not so with the form of Jesus. It is not regarded as anything to be striven after. If anything, it is rather used to confirm the wavering faith of the disciples. ■ is not a reward for plenary faith already existing. The apparent want of purpose also, the somewhat unconnected way in which the narrative is given, are both points to be noted. In the gospel story, when it is alleged that the Twelfth Chapter of the Gita is a copy of it. Dr. Lorinser assigns, as one reason for his view that the Gita copied this scene from the gospel, the alleged circumstance that other "characteristic and prominent incidents" in the life of Jesus are transferred ■ Krishna. On some of these which have been mentioned before we have already spoken, and we have only ■ add that talking of the "transference to Krishna" in those cases is itself

only a begging of the question.\* Further confirmation Dr. Lorinser finds in an "expression," used in the Gita on the occasion when this transfiguration is narrated, which Dr. Lorinser holds to be "borrowed from the gospel"—of course without showing that it is necessary to infer from the facts that the Gita 'borrowed' from the gospel, and not vice versa. Now in the first place, the rendering of the passage from the Gita, contains one not quite unimportant error, for what is rendered by "suddenly" ought to have been rendered by "simultaneously." And secondly, as to the substantial matter of the comparison, there is really nothing to compare except the mention of the sun in both passages. In the Gita, the glory of a thousand suns is spoken of, and said to be the only parallel to the glory of Krishna's whole form. In the New Testament, the comparison is between only the face of Jesus on the one side and only one sun on the other. Why should you suppose a 'borrowing' in such a case? And to the sun's brilliance such a recondite affair that the author of the Gita could not have himself thought of it as a good simile? The passage cited from Gita XI. 11 (II. is a misprint), is, I take it, meant to be regarded as 'borrowed' from the gospel words "raiment white as the light." But I confess I find it quite impossible to see even the flimsiest foundation for a theory of borrowing with regard to it. In the citations which follow, there is, as might be expected, a general coincidence of ideas, but there is really no coincidence, I think, in the modes in which the

\* As to one of the 'incidents,' we may refer back to the view of Mr. Greg (citing Sir W. Jones) which we have adduced at p. xxix. note. says. I am unable to see what parallel Dr. Lorinser has found in Krishna's story for "the washing of the feet at the last supper." If it is the occurrence at the Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhishthir, Dr. Lorinser is certainly in the wrong.

ideas are brought out in the two works. A wonderful—an extraordinary—phenomenon being seen, it is only natural that the person who sees should become ‘astonished,’ should not feel himself quite at ease. The central notion in the descriptions of such a scene must necessarily be one and the same. You can, therefore, draw an inference of ‘borrowing’ by the one from the other only by looking at the way that central notion is drawn out. And I think there is no room for doubt, that in this part of the matter the two sets of passages cited do not show any such similarity as alleged. I may add before closing this part of the matter, that in the last passage adduced by Dr. Lorinser here from Gita XI. 50, “for the great spirit was merciful” is most clearly a mistranslation.

To proceed. There is I think an extremely slight similarity between the words of Krishna in Gita X. 12 *et seq.* and the passages from Matthew and John cited by Dr. Lorinser. And not only that, but there are also very great differences; and I do not think that any inference can be drawn from a comparison of them. Dr. Lorinser next proceeds to Arjun’s “apology” in which he traces an “unmistakable similarity” with the “exclamation of Peter on seeing the miracles of the fishes.” I confess I can see no coincidence at all. Dr. Lorinser afterwards says, that “although the words are different, the situation is exactly the same.” So that it appears the “unmistakable” similarity is after all not between the “apology” and the “exclamation” but between the “situations” in which the one and the other are respectively made. And this is supposed to confirm the “result already won” that the Gita has copied from the Bible! By the way, it ought to be remarked that the rendering of वृग्न by ‘eager’ (in Gita XI. 42) is entirely erroneous.

Lastly we come to a "certain similarity which may be accounted for by an intentional imitation" between the conclusion of the Twelfth Chapter and the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount. The similarity here is between the repetition of 'such a one is dear to me' in the Gita and the repetition of 'blessed are' in the Sermon on the Mount. Now even Dr. Lorinaer's dogmatism will not venture to contend, that 'intentional imitation' is the only way of 'accounting' for this similarity. There is no doubt that this tendency to repetition is to be marked in all archaic writings, and it is worth noting that a similar repetition occurs in the stanzas of the Gita II., 25 *et seq.* II. 55 *et seq.*, and again in Gita XI. 28-29. In the teeth of these circumstances,<sup>\*</sup> I think, it is a very bold proceeding to adopt the theory of "intentional imitation." And as to the eight beatitudes, it should be remembered, as Dr. Strauss observes, that they "consist from first to last of those Christian paradoxes by which the new Christian view of things comes into contrast with the traditional one both of Jews and Gentiles."<sup>†</sup> If so, shall we not be justified in applying here the theory of Professor Weber above referred to, namely that contained in the words—"There is a gap between the two which apparently nothing but the supposition of an external influence can account for"? What is we say that the external influence in this case was the influence of the Hindu Philosophy, and that the language used was the result of an intentional imitation of this passage of the Gita?

In taking a comprehensive survey of the passages from

\* And see too, Kathopanishad III. 5, 6. V. 9, 10, 12, 18, and the Visvettha Sutta in Sir M. G. Swamy's Sutta Nipata, p. 133. The Uraga Sutta, the Khaggavinesa Sutta, and the Mahamangala Sutta, indeed, take their several names from this very circumstance.

† See Vol. I. p. 277.

which the Gita is thus alleged to have "borrowed," Dr. Lorinser finds that "it is the Gospel of John in particular from which the composer has taken the most important and the greatest majority of phrases." This is an important observation. For the result of the application of historical criticism to the New Testament records has rendered it nearly certain that the Fourth Gospel was the very latest of the Gospels, and the conclusion arrived at by Strauss, ■ has been already stated, is that the Fourth Gospel "was not known until after the middle" of the second century A. C. The remark of Strauss which follows this is also of great moment, in the consideration of this question of borrowing. The Fourth Gospel, he says, "bears every indication of having arisen upon a foreign soil, and under the influence of a philosophy of the time unknown to the original circle in which Jesus lived."<sup>o</sup> Now I do not profess to have gone through the long and able controversies on the subject of the date and authenticity of the New Testament writings. But from what I have read of the recent works on that subject, especially "Supernatural Religion" and the works of Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Greg, and others, I believe, that the conclusion stated by Strauss is a conclusion maintained not merely by him but by most if not all those who have applied the canons of historical criticism to the writings of the New Testament. M. Renan, I be-

\* The following remarks of Dr. Westcott are to be noted in connexion with this point. "Though it is unnecessary to degrade it into a mere controversial work, it is impossible not to feel that ■ was written to satisfy some pressing want of the age, to meet some false philosophy which had already begun to fashion a peculiar dialect and to attempt ■ solve by the help of Christian ideas some of the great problems of humanity," (*On the Canon* p. 246). And see Greg's *Creed of Christendom*, II. 38. See too *Quarterly Review* (January 1875) p. 186.

lieve, at one time held a position inconsistent with this view,<sup>\*</sup> but in his most recent work on the subject, he too seems to have come round to the general opinion.

I am unable to find out the result of modern criticism as to the dates of the other New Testament writings, except that, according to Strauss, the second epistle of Peter is not "earlier than the end of the second century after Christ."<sup>†</sup> It is sufficient for our present purpose, however, to know that the portion of the New Testament which is supposed to have supplied "the most important and the greatest majority of phrases" is held by eminent authorities to be much later than the middle of the second century A. C. See now how the case stands. Not to speak of the foreign influences under which the Gospel was written, for that is relevant only to another branch of our argument, Dr. Loriuser's theory requires us to suppose, that the Fourth Gospel which dates after the middle of the second century A. C. was brought to India by missionaries of Christianity; was either translated into one of the vernacular languages of the country, and studied in such translation, or studied in the original Greek itself by a learned Brâhman "holding fast to the traditional wisdom of his caste;" was drawn upon by him for some of the most important 'phrases' and tenets of a work which has always been regarded in its own country as containing the quintessence of orthodoxy; and all this, we are required to suppose, occurred within the compass of a century or thereabouts, at a period when the world progressed at the rate at which it did sixteen hundred years

\* See Greg's Creed of Christendom, Vol. II. 119. Mr. M. Arnold's view may be seen in the *Contemporary Review* (March 1875) p. 515.

† Life of Jesus, Vol. I. p. 66. Dr. Westcott says the purely historical evidence does not take it much before the end of the third century (*On the Canon* p. 213).

ago.\* Taking into consideration all the surrounding circumstances, even taking those and those only which have a bearing exclusively on this point and omitting those which lead to a conclusion opposite to Dr. Lorinser's by a different line of argument, I maintain that this theory ■ quite untenable. But we need not dwell here further on this point as it has been already discussed before.

We may here remark, parenthetically as ■ were, on the two passages adduced by Dr. Lorinser from the Book of Wisdom to which he finds parallels in the Bhagavadgita. In the first there is, indeed, a certain slight similarity. But it is obviously neither very remarkable, nor on a point of such a recondite nature as even to suggest an inference of "borrowing." And remember, too, that "ordering all things" and "comprehending everything" are two ideas wide as the poles asunder. A similar remark applies to the next passage. That the body is a prison for the Soul; that to be liberated from it is to rise to a much higher walk of life; that the abnegation of the body is the way, and the only way, to final absolution; these doctrines are essentially Hindu doctrines. And to say that the Gītā borrowed them from the Book of Wisdom is to say what I maintain cannot be proved, and what most assuredly has not yet been proved by Dr. Lorinser or by any one else.†

Before leaving this question of coincidences, ■ may be just as well to draw attention to the fact, that these coin-

\* I would quote here a passage which ought to have been quoted at P. xxiv. Dr. Westcott says "versions of scripture appear to be in the first instance almost necessarily of gradual growth. Ideas of translation familiarised to us by long experience formed no part of the primitive system" (p. 202).

†. ■ need scarcely be remarked here that the translation of अपाप्य निष्ठा by invisible way is entirely wrong.

cidences are observable not merely between the Gita and the New Testament but between other works also. Thus, as we have elsewhere pointed out, Mr. Lucas Collins at the close of his excellent little volume on the *Odyssey* in the series of "Ancient Classics for English Readers," draws attention to numerous points of resemblance between the Homeric narrative and the stories in the Old Testament.\* A rather different species of resemblance is that between the Gita itself and the Platonic Dialogues. Thus to the doctrine of the Gita with regard to birth and death, in Chap. II. St. 27 we may find something like a parallel in the doctrine of Socrates in the *Phædo* (Jowett's *Plato* I. 416-7). Again in the passage in Chap. VI. 43 we may trace something very like Socrates's favourite doctrine of reminiscence.† And the comparison of the several bodies which the soul animates in its earthly career to clothes, which we find in the Gita II. ■ corresponds to a very similar comparison in Plato's *Phædo* (Jowett I. 436). The idea, again, enunciated in the words "And when they have there received their due and remained their time, another guide brings them back again after many revolutions of ages" (Jowett I. 458-9), is, to a certain extent, similar to that at Gita IX. 21. Several more instances of such similarity might, I have no doubt, be added. Some few on which I am able to lay my hands just now are referred to in the note.‡ But however remarkable some of these are, I do not think, that they furnish any fair ground for the inference, that Plato borrowed

\* P. 129 ■ seq.

† See Jowett I. 418.

‡ Compare Gita. II. 16 (and our note thereon) with Jowett II. 523; Gita VI. 40 with Jowett I. 590. The description of a philosopher in the *Theætetus* (Jowett III. 398-9) may be compared with Gita II. 69.

from the Gita, or that the Gita borrowed from Plato. And by parity of reason I think in the case before us, that the coincidences pointed out by Dr. Lorinser do not support the inference which he bases upon them.

Dr. Lorinser here closes the main part of his investigation, but before finally concluding it, he attempts to answer "two objections which may be raised." The first is this—Upon Dr. Lorinser's theory, what explanation is to be given of the fact that some of the Upanishads have passages in common with the Bhagavadgita? "As the Upanishads," says Dr. Lorinser, "which are considered parts of the Vedas have a relatively high antiquity ascribed to them, and are regarded as older than the oldest Christian records, the supposition that those expressions and thoughts (viz. those which are common, according to Dr. Lorinser, to the Gita and the Christian Scriptures) were borrowed from Christianity seems to be excluded."<sup>\*</sup> One would expect that after this admission which ■ a full and fair one and involves an important objection to Dr. Lorinser's theory, we should have such a satisfactory reply to it as would leave the theory safe and sound. But there ■ a cruel disappointment in store for him who may form such an expectation. Dr. Lorinser is pleased to give only a "short statement of his view," of course without reasons for many of the propositions implied in it, and then he "leaves the further investigation ■ others." I humbly submit that this is not quite a satisfactory mode of disposing of an objection. However, let us examine this "short statement of my view," which ■ vouch-safed to us.

According to Dr. Lorinser, then, all the Upanishads referred

---

\* P. 294b.

to here "reverence a system which like the Bhagavadgītā, seeks to unite the doctrines of the Sāṅkhyas, Vedānta and Yoga schools." Now it seems to me, that this initial step is a thoroughly mistaken step. I do not think, that we can trace in the Gītā or the Upanishads in question, any "seeking to unite" those doctrines. True it is, of course, that there are, as we may say, scattered about in those works doctrines which now are labelled Yog, and Sāṅkhyas, and Vedānta doctrines. But I cannot see how we are from this alone entitled to infer, without support from other circumstances, that the works in question attempt to reconcile those doctrines into one integral system. On the contrary, it strikes me that the circumstances point the other way. My view is, that in the Gītā and the Upanishads, the philosophical part has not been consistently and fully worked out. We have there the results of free thought exercised on different subjects of great moment, unfettered by the exigencies of any foregone conclusion or of any fully developed theory. It is afterwards, it is at a later stage of philosophical progress, that system-making arises. In that stage some thinkers interpret whole works by the light of some particular doctrines or expressions. And the result is the development of a whole multitude of philosophical sects following the lead of those thinkers, and all professing to draw their doctrine from the Gītā or the Upanishads, yet each differing remarkably from the other. One of the best examples of such a thing in the history of Philosophy is presented by the relations between Socrates and the Socratic Schools. "Several Philosophers" says Cicero cited by Mr. G. H. Lewes in his History of Philosophy "drew from the conversations of Socrates very different results, and according as each adopted views which harmonized with his own, they in their turn became heads

of philosophical schools all differing amongst each other."\* Now this, I conceive, is really the correct view of the relationship between the Gita on the one hand, and the Yog, the Sankhya, and Vedanta schools on the other. It is — much a mistake — suppose that the Gita endeavours to reconcile the varying doctrines of those schools, as it would be to suppose that the Socratic philosophy was the result of an attempt to combine together into one harmonious whole the systems of the Cynics, the Cyrenaics, the Megarics. As we have said before, the question in great measure depends upon the indications afforded by the surrounding circumstances. If we simply find a combination of doctrines belonging to two or three systems in any work, it is not possible from that circumstance alone to conclude whether the systems flowed from the book as a fountain-source, or whether they were the small rills of which the book was, so to speak, the reservoir. In the case before us it appears to me, that the points hinted at above militate strongly against the view propounded by Dr. Lorinser.

The next point taken by Dr. Lorinser is that the Upanishads in question "belong to the latest of the Vedas, the Atharva, and in the case of none of them is there any convincing reason for looking on the hypothesis of their post-Christian origin as impossible." Now I must draw special attention to the first part of this sentence. What — these Upanishads belong — the latest of the Veda ? The impression intended to be suggested — that by reason of that circumstance, these Upanishads are not unlikely to be of post-Christian origin. But where — the ground for this sugges-

---

\* Vol. I. p. 175, (3rd Ed.) Compare also Schwabler Hist. of Phil. p. 53. (4th Ed.) and Prof. Ferrier's Lectures on Greek Philosophy. I. 267-70.

## INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

tion? The fact of these Upanishads belonging to the Atharvaved has really nothing at all to do with their date as far as that is concerned in the present inquiry. On the one hand, even if they belonged to the Rigved, they might be later than the beginning of the Christian Era; and on the other hand even if they belonged to the "latest of the Veds," that would not necessitate the postponement of their date to a period after the beginning of the Christian Era. The truth is, that when we look at the facts, the remark proves to be almost irrelevant, and it receives the semblance of relevancy only because of the extreme want of precision with which the expression 'latest of the Veds' is used, so as to suit the necessities of the occasion. If the quite unbounded vagueness of that expression is removed, even as far only as we can remove it on the most irrefragable evidence, the correctness of our remark will become at once evident. For although it may be the latest of the Veds, the Atharvaved is older than the beginning of the Christian Era by many centuries. I have already pointed out elsewhere that the Atharvaved is mentioned in the Mahâbhâshya of Patanjali,\* and in the Chhândogyopanishad,† both works,\* I apprehend, unquestionably older than the Christian Era.‡ I have also pointed out that Patanjali alludes to the Upanishads,§ and I contend that putting these two facts together, the result is that the suggestion of Dr. Lorin-

\* As being, it may be added, even then 'ninefold' (p. 16. Introd.).

† P. 474.

‡ See "Was the Râmâyana copied from Homer?" p. ■■■ and references there.

§ P. 16 (Introd.) Bankes Ed. See too, Manu and Vâtsâyanî in his commentary on the Nyâya Sûtras (Manu II. 145, 180; and Vâtsâyanî Bhâshya p. 3).

ser is the reverse of the conclusion to which the facts seem to point. And when Dr. Lorinser proceeds to say that there is no "convincing reason" for refusing to believe the post-Christian origin of the Upanishads, it becomes necessary to ask, what "convincing reason" is there for believing in their post-Christian origin—what but the necessity which Dr. Lorinser is under of making guesses to suit his foregone conclusions? I agree with Dr. Lorinser that there is nothing to prove the hypothesis to be "impossible." But what is there to prove the hypothesis of its being anti-Christian to be "impossible"? The truth is that in the domain of history, impossible is a word which ought to be used very rarely if at all. The whole question in historical matters is a question of likelihood, of probability, and reasons must be found in all the surrounding circumstances of each matter for holding an opinion one way or the other regarding it. Now what are the surrounding circumstances here to render this post-Christian origin likely? The only thing adduced by Dr. Lorinser is a guess or rather a couple of guesses of Professor Weber, based on certain facts connected with one of the Upanishads enumerated, namely the S'vetâ'svatâr, which Dr. Lorinser pronounces to be "as I believe, the oldest of them." The first guess is one based on the names S'ret, and S'vetâ'sva and S'vetâ'sikh, and S'vetalohit. On this, Professor Weber says "Perhaps, we have here a mission of Syrian Christians."<sup>\*</sup> Of course, no further ground is assigned for this guess: nor are we instructed as to the connexion of 'Syrian Christians' with the Yog Philosophy; nor further is any explanation vouchsafed as to how Syrian Christians came to be described as having 'white blood' and 'white hair.' In truth the whole thing is but a gratuitous guess, which calls to my

mind the following weighty words of an eminent authority on historical matters. "The very minimum of presumptive evidence," says George Grote in a letter to his eminent friend Sir G. C. Lewis; "appears to these gentlemen enough to warrant both the positive affirmation of a matter as historical and the demand which they make upon opponents to produce counter-evidence and disprove it."<sup>\*</sup> Perhaps these words are rather stronger than are fairly applicable to the matter before us. But with just a little toning down, the protest embodied in them by Grote against the methods employed by the Egyptologists and Assyriologists of his day appears to me to be strongly called for both in the present and other inquiries touching our ancient history. However let us proceed. Prof. Weber's second guess is founded upon a basis only less narrow than the basis for this one which we have now considered. This guess is based on the name S'vetasya Rājarshi and on the fact of his having "raised his son to life again." I do not think this guess to be much more tenable than the last one. But even if it is more tenable, it is less relevant to the point before us; for it is suggested by a story in the Mahābhārata, and we are not now on any question connected with that work but with the S'vetāśvataropanishad. It is useful to add that in the course of his statement of these guesses, Prof. Weber makes an observation, which shows how the comfortable old principle of "so much the worse for the facts" is impressed to do service here. After the sentence quoted above with regard to 'Syrian Christians', the Professor says:—"that their doctrines would be put by their Indian scholars into a Brahmanical dress, and that of Christianity only the monotheism would remain, is natural," I confess, I cannot concur in this. The enthusiasm of the renegade

---

\* See Personal Life of Grote by Mr. Grote p. 263.

against that which he has abandoned — proverbial. And it strikes me as very unlikely that the Indian scholars of Syrian Christians should have compromised the most essential peculiarities of Christianity out of the doctrines which they taught and recorded. But even waiving that, and admitting this abstract possibility for the sake of argument, what are we to say of a theory which first assumes a borrowing on the strength of nothing better than four names (which to say the least of them, are highly equivocal) and then assumes further that the most distinctive marks of the system borrowed from were flung away in the act of borrowing? Have we not here the veritable French Philosopher who said,—“If the facts do not suit my theory, so much the worse for the facts”?

Dr. Lorinser goes on next to refer, for what purpose is not quite evident, to the Graanthopanishad, which he says, “is regarded by Weber as older.” But here again Dr. Lorinser sees in the mention of Vishnu and S'raddha “the development of the Vishnu-cultus under the modification of Christian ideas.” Now I have not been able to get a sight of this Graanthopanishad, and do not know in what context the name of Vishnu occurs there. But I want to know what ground Dr. Lorinser has for connecting that name with any Christian influences. I can only see in this assertion one further instance of that amazing dogmatism, on which I have found it necessary to animalvert before, and which in its manifestations elsewhere has fallen under the lash of the late Professor Goldstücker who speaks of “the bold assertions and solemn affirmations with which some writers on Sanskrit matters are wont to represent the unreliable result of their speculations.”\* One answer to

---

\* *Westminster Review* (April 1868) p. 363.

the assertion not to mention others, is the very strong one that Vishnu is mentioned over and over again in no less a work than the *Rigved*.\* The reference to *S'raddha* I pass over for the moment; nor shall I dwell on the conveniently vague language of Dr. Lorinser when he speaks of the "time at which the Vishnu-cultus began to develop itself under Christian influences" without specifying anything more definite as to this time. But I think it worth while ■ pause here a little, in order to cast back a glance at what Dr. Lorinser has assumed or asserted, and to consider how the various assumptions and assertions stand when put together. We find then the following series—according to Dr. Lorinser—1. The New Testament; 2. An Indian Translation of the same; 3. The Granthopanishad composed under the influences of this translation; 4. The *S'vetas'vataropanishad* similarly composed at a later period; 5. The *Bhagavadgita* similarly composed at a still later period; 6. The Commentaries on the *Gita*—for there were some—preceding that of *S'ankarachārya*;† 7. The Commentary of *S'ankar* himself. Now omitting the first and two last numbers of this series, and conceding to Dr. Lorinser the very utmost he can claim, we have the Indian translation of the Bible dating from the end of the first century A. C., and the *Gita* probably from the third century A. C. Is this a sufficient interval?‡ Even taking these dates as certain, can anybody who takes due note of the circumstances of the case

\* See *inter alia* Mandal, I. 11. 61. R. 7. The question will ■ somewhat more fully discussed below.

† See his *Bhāshya* p. 7. (Oale. Ed. Samvat 1927).

‡ Upon the view suggested above about the earliest possible date of a translation ■ the New Testament into an Indian language, if any such translation was ever made, ■ ■ almost needless to say, that the series ■ much longer than could be reasonably compressed within the limits which even Dr. Lorinser must accept.

be reasonably satisfied of the probability of the result thus arising? I can confidently challenge any one free from bias to any aye to these question.

Dr. Lorinser next goes on to propound and answer another objection to his theory, based on supposed coincidences between passages in the Gita and Thomas A. Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*. His answer to the objection is three-fold. To take the last answer first. Dr. Lorinser supposes that the thoughts and sayings in Thomas A. Kempis must have been current among "old Indian Christians;" the conclusion being, I suppose, for Dr. Lorinser does not express it, that the Gita borrowed those "thoughts and sayings" also from the "old Indian Christians." Really the force of bias and dogmatism could no further go! When there is a coincidence between the Gita and a work for which Dr. Lorinser thinks he can claim a higher antiquity than the Gita, then the borrowing is by the Gita. When the coincidence is between the Gita and a work which even Dr. Lorinser cannot venture to place chronologically before the Gita, still this other work is not the work which borrows, but some non-descript tradition current among "old Indian Christians" is to be imagined—without the slightest possible ground for so imagining it,<sup>8</sup>—and once more apparently† the conclusion is to be drawn that the Gita borrowed from Christianity! Surely this is not very logical. Surely even the "theological bias" ought to pause before going such

\* Dr. Lorinser himself does not venture to categorically lay down the existence of these "thoughts and sayings among old Indian Christians." He only says, "we need not be surprised if they are found." But are they found?

† I say 'apparently,' because Dr. Lorinser does not expressly state this conclusion, but, it seems to me, that the argument is worthless unless this conclusion is.

lengths as these! Surely, on this point — least, it would have been well for Dr. Lorinser to vouchsafe some slight consideration to the possibility of Thomas à Kempis having directly or indirectly borrowed from the Gita.

The second answer which Dr. Lorinser makes to his own objection is, that "Christian asceticism and Indian Yoga have in many things internal points of contact..... so that we need not assume any external influence." I entirely concur in the principle involved in this answer; and indeed I maintain that if Dr. Lorinser had acted upon that principle in discussing the coincidences of passages relied on by him, he would have found reasons to shake his full confidence in his own theory. The answer, however, is not sufficient to finally dispose of the objection here. What is the explanation of these points of contact themselves? When do they first manifest themselves in the history of Christian asceticism? The answers to these questions may have a most important bearing upon the value of Dr. Lorinser's mode of obviating his objection. And here again the thought suggests itself, that Dr. Lorinser might fairly have considered the alternative which his one-sided inquiry has entirely ignored, namely the alternative of Christianity having borrowed from the Gita. For in an extract from Prof. Weber's *Indische Studien* made use of by Dr. Lorinser at a former stage of this discussion, the possibility of this alternative being in some measure correct† is hinted at. As to Dr. Lorinser's other answer to the objection, it is not one of great importance, and I confess that, in the case of some of the coincidences pointed out by him between the Gita and

\* These questions will appear particularly important when we remember that asceticism was no part in Jesus's system, and that in fact he set his face against it. See Luke V. 33. Matthew XI. 19 (both cited by Dr. Lorinser).

† *Indian Antiquary* Vol. II. 286a.

Thomas à Kempis, there is not much to distinguish them either in kind or degree from the coincidences which he has pointed out between the Gita and the New Testament.

Dr. Lorinser next proceeds to note certain other coincidences "of much greater importance" "with later Christian theological doctrines." And first he speaks of the "Iunus gloriae." Now I own, I can see but little resemblance between what occurs at Gita XI. 8 and the passage quoted from the Book of Revelations. I am afraid, that here again we have the wish which is father to the thought. However, I am content to take it, that there may be something in the "theologians" more nearly resembling the doctrine of the Gita; still nothing has been shown in the New Testament of which that can be said with truth; and what occurs in the "theologians" is, I think, of very little value on Dr. Lorinser's side of the question. As to the division of moral acts into thoughts, words, and deeds, suffice it to say that it occurs in Kālidās, in Manu, and sundry old Indian works.\* And as to prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, surely Dr. Lorinser must have made some strange error when he refers to Gita XVII. 28 for that division. There is nothing about either fasting or prayer† there.‡ Lastly, leaving for future consideration the won-

\* See Kālidās Raghu. V. 5. XV. 85. Manu has it in several places (See I 104. II. 236). And see Sir M. C. Swamy's Butta Nipata pp. 91, 101, and most of all p. 63. See also Yājnavalkya (Achār) Sts. 27, 155 and elsewhere.

† Apparently Dr. Lorinser has understood विष्णु and विष्णवः to mean prayer and fasting. I can only say, that if this is so, we have a further instance of the dangers to which a comparison of translations is exposed, especially when the translator has a theory in support.

‡ It is to be noted too, that it is to a certain extent unlucky for Dr. Lorinser's theory that the passage from Tobit cited by Dr. Lorinser adds 'righteousness' also. What is the meaning of Dr. Lorinser's ob-

derful dogmatism of the notes on S'raddhā, what are we to say to the observation of Dr. Lorinser that "all these expressions and ideas"—namely the *lumen gloriae*, the dogma *credo in intelligam*, and the others mentioned by him—"existed in Christianity long before they can be pointed out in Christian writers"!! Once more I am tempted to say, the force of dogmatism can no further go. The sublime assurance with which the observation is made is simply amazing. Where did these "expressions and ideas" exist if not in Christian writers? Did they exist in *nubibus*? And how long before they can be pointed out in "Christian writers" did they "exist in Christianity"? What is their history in that period, and what are the sources of information about it? Surely all these questions ought in fairness to be answered. Surely it is not fair to take refuge under this sort of dogmatism, unsupported by any definite evidence on a question like the present. If I understand him aright, Dr. Lorinser intends to suggest—and if he intends to suggest it, I submit he ought to have stated it expressly\*—that in the later Christian writers these "expressions and ideas" come without any "external influence" from the floating body of Christian dogma, and that from this floating body of dogma, the Gītā must have got those "expressions and ideas." Now if the facts are, as they undeniably are, and as upon Dr. Lorinser's own implied admission they are, that the first definite and fixed form in which these "expressions

---

upon the words 'It avails not after death or here'? The *habitus caritatis* is not the same thing as the *शर्व* which the Gītā speaks of. For the expression न परत्तेत्यनो इव, compare Manu II. 9 III. 20, 143, 175 and several other passages, and Yājñavalkya (Āchār) St. 87.

\* I am not sure about this, however; I find it difficult to follow the exact sequence of ideas in the last sentence.

sions and ideas" occur is to be found in the Gita, and that the earliest Christian writings in which they can be traced are, and must be admitted to be, unquestionably later than the Gita; and if further, as also Dr. Lorinser on his principles must perforce contend, the coincidence is so great that no other theory than the theory of borrowing will suffice to explain it; then I say the irresistible conclusion upon these facts is that the Christian writings must have borrowed from the Gita. This would be the conclusion, I submit, which would be drawn by anybody not tainted with the "theological bias." Now if Dr. Lorinser wishes to escape from this, surely he is bound to adduce some more tangible grounds than the superlatively vague and indefinite statement that the "expressions and ideas" in question "existed in Christianity long before they can be pointed out in Christian writers"—a statement for which no authority has been adduced, and which I do not see that anybody is bound to accept on the mere *ipse dixit* of Dr. Lorinser; a statement, too, which if I may allow myself the liberty of applying to it the strong expression of Dr. Lorinser, seems to me to "plainly bear on its forehead" the stamp of being put forward expressly in order to get out of an inconvenient conclusion. I own that to my mind this is one out of many passages in this essay of Dr. Lorinser which convince me that he has looked at the whole question under the overpowering influence of "bias", and also, though perhaps unconsciously, with a violent desire to prove a foregone conclusion. Indeed this unscientific frame of mind, if I may so say, is betrayed by sundry passages in this essay, one of which occurs at the very outset, where Dr. Lorinser says, "Our aim here then must be to establish that the Bhagavdgita may be attributed ■ a period in which it is not impossible that its com-

poser may have been acquainted.....with different books of the New Testament."\* There, ■ appears to me, we have the key to the whole of Dr. Lorinser's argument. Dr. Lorinser has an "aim", and ■ that aim he has endeavoured to suit the facts which have confronted him in the course of his investigation. It will be said that this is verbal criticism. So it is, in a certain sense. But when it is remembered, that the conclusion to which this verbal criticism leads is one for which we have the strongest supports in the very substance and essence of the argument, I think that that criticism is entirely divested of its objectionable character. I may add here, that considering the peculiar circumstances of this case, I hold it to be important, and indeed necessary, to point out this pervading characteristic of Dr. Lorinser's argument.

I have now, I think, gone through all the points made by Dr. Lorinser, with a single exception. And that exception concerns the doctrine of faith as laid down in sundry passages of the Gita. As we have observed before, Dr. Lorinser iterates and reiterates his opinion that this doctrine of faith was borrowed by the author of the Gita from Christianity, and if strength of language were any evidence of truth this proposition about the Gita borrowing from Christianity would most certainly be true. But to borrow a phrase of Professor Tyndall's obstinacy of assertion on Dr. Lorinser's part furnishes a by no means sufficient assurance that his assertions are objectively correct.† Let us then bring together to a focus, as it were, the various passages in which Dr. Lorinser expresses his opinion upon this point. And first he says in a

\* See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 283a.

† See the *Contemporary Review* for July 1874, p. 136.

note on Gita III. 34 :—\* “There appears to be no doubt that these ideas (scil. S'raddha and Bhakti) are not originally Indian representations (as they are not found anywhere else in heathendom) but that they have been taken over from Christianity, ■ Dr. A. Weber among others (*Indische Studien* II. 398 *f.*) supposes and has partly demonstrated.” Again annotating on Gita VIII. 7,† he says “these passages remind one too clearly of the Christian doctrine of faith to overlook the Christian trace.” Once more, speaking about the Grantha Upanishad,‡ Dr. Lorinser sees in the word S'raddha an indication of the “development of the Vishnu-cultus under the modification of Christian ideas.” Lastly, he says “I hold the idea of faith (S'raddha) in this sense just as that of Bhakti (III. 31. IV. 10 and see Lassez Ind. Alt. II. 1099; Weber Ind. Stud. II. 398.) as a representation adopted from Christianity, and doubt if S'raddha is used in this sense in the earlier Indian works in which a Christian influence cannot yet be pointed out.”§ Now what does all this really come to? To this, I think, that Dr. Lorinser maintains the opinion under discussion on grounds which are stated by Professor Weber, to which he adds one further ground, namely that the ideas of S'raddha and Bhakti “are not found anywhere else in heathendom.” Now, with

\* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. 286.

† *Indian Antiquary* Vol. II. 288b (note).

‡ *Ibid* 295b.

§ *Ibid* 295. Upon this last passage, one remark is necessary. Dr. Lorinser ventures ■ suggest ■ meaning for S'raddha other than the ordinary one. Why does he not state what that other meaning is, and what authority he has for adopting it? His declaration here is best described by a terse and vigorous expression of Lord Bacon—it ■ “dogmatizing in scepticism.” As to Bhakti the last Stanza of the Svetasvataraupanishad should be noted; and see too Raghu. I. 90; II. 22, 63; V. 14, 20.

regard ■ this last point, I think, that without going into any elaborate review of the "earlier Indian works," to which Dr. Lorinser refers, but which, I suspect, he has not carefully examined, it is possible to show clearly that Dr. Lorinser's statement of facts is entirely incorrect. I will give quotations from tolerably early works belonging to various classes, which will suffice, I think, to fully "demonstrate" to any unbiased inquirer the reverse of that which, according to Dr. Lorinser, Professor Weber has "supposed and partly demonstrated." I refer first to the writings of Kālidāsa. According to my own view as to the date of this great writer, the testimony to be found in his works is of considerable value in the present discussion. But as the date is yet not settled, I do not claim the same weight for this part of the argument which I should otherwise have claimed. Nevertheless it is a matter which is worth mentioning. At Raghu II. 16 occurs the line अद्वैत साक्षिप्तिरामाः; and similarly in the seventh Act of the Sākuntalā Nāṭak occurs this stanza—

विद्या व्यक्तनां सभी सरस्यमिदं मग्नं ।

अद्वैत विधिशेषि लिपये तस्यायन् ॥

I think these passages show by implication the importance attached to Śraddha in the time of Kālidāsa. Let us now go on to a more ancient work, about the antiquity of which there can, I think, be no question, certainly none in its bearing on the point before us—I mean the Mahābhāshya of Patanjali. There in the comment on Pāṇini, II. 2. 34. occur the following examples:—श्रद्धामेषे and श्रद्धानासी.\* Now when we observe, that these examples are given to illustrate the rule that in copulative compounds the more important term stands before the less important, it becomes clear that

---

\* P. 370 (Bauhāra Ed.)

was in the time of Patanjali regarded as a more important element in a religious life than even येता and तप्ति. If we go now to another class of works we find the doctrine of S'raddhā laid down in Manu and Yājñavalkya.\* Going to a still older class, to the class namely of Upanishads, we find there also clear traces of this doctrine of S'raddhā. The Chhāndogyopanishad is, I believe, one of the oldest of these Upanishads, and in it we have the passage पैरं रिषय करेनि अद्या उत्तमसा तरेण शर्वत्सरं भवति,† where we see the value ascribed to S'raddhā. Furthermore, the quotations from the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, and the Vājasaneyi Saṅhitā, contained, in the fifth volume of the elaborate work of Dr. Muir,‡ show that the Chhāndogyopanishad is not the only one of the Vedic works in which a high rank is ascribed to this S'raddhā. But going still further into antiquity, going to the very first of the Veds.§ we are still able to cite passages from it which show that the idea of S'raddhā is not a new-fangled idea as Drs. Lorinser and Weber would have us believe. For some of these passages I am again indebted to Dr. Muir's book, but there are others which I have come across myself in my own very partial study of the Rigved. If opportunity should offer, I might discuss the history of this doctrine of S'raddhā from the period of the Rigved to the beginning of the Christian Era. But the facts to which

\* See Yājñavalkya (Āśaṅga) Sta. 6 and 202 and Manu III. 202, 273. IV. 158, 226.

† See p. 23 (Biblioth. Ind.)

‡ See pp. 103 and 347. (2nd Ed. 1870)

§ See *inter alia* R. V. II. 1. 12. 5. (I give references on the Māndū division) II. 3. 26. 6. VII. 1. 6. 3. VII. 2. 22. 14 (which, it may be noted, occurs also in the Śāṅga-Ved. See Benfey's Ed. I. 27). IX. 7. 113. 2. There are other passages of, perhaps, even greater value than these. But these are enough.

## INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

attention has been already drawn are, I apprehend, enough, if not more than enough, to satisfy any candid mind, that the doctrine of S'raddha existed in India long before the time when Christianity arose, still longer before it began ■ influence the thought of this country even upon the hypothesis of Dr. Lorinser. It is, of course, not at all unlikely that the doctrine underwent some development in India, that it did not originally come forth in the shape in which we find it even in the Bhagavadgītā. I have not thought it necessary here to consider the question from this point of view, but nothing could surprise me less than that this should be so. At the same time, it is scarcely necessary to point out, that this is very different from the theory propounded by Dr. Lorinser—that the Bhagavadgītā borrowed this doctrine from Christianity. Indeed it seems to me, that the fact, if it be one, of the doctrine being traceable in its gradual development in the extant Vedic literature would negative that theory even more strongly than the mere existence of traces of the doctrine in that literature.\*

The question, however, as between the Gītā and Christianity does not rest there. Speaking of the "independent activity of the Original Christian Church." Dr. Straus says— "And the doctrines of faith, of the forgiveness of sins, of the true keeping holy of the Sabbath, which we find interwoven with the narratives of the miraculous cures in the New

---

\* I have thus far referred only to the orthodox Brahminical works. But in the Buddhistic Sutta Nipata also, we have abundant, I was going to say superabundant, evidence of the recognition of the value of faith in India. See Sir M. C. Swamy's Sutta Nipata pp. 21 25, 63, and sundry other places. And as to credo ■ intelligam listen to the following from the same work (p. 49) "one who being diligent (and) wise believes in the law of the saints for attaining Nibbana will by listening constantly (to them) acquire knowledge.

Testament, the thought that death is but a sleep which we find brought out in those of the raising of the dead, are nothing but so many Christian ideas breathed as a newer and better soul into those narratives."\* Considering only that part of this sentence which is pertinent to our present inquiry, I understand this to mean that the idea of faith was a doctrine added by Christianity to the old Jewish stock of ideas. Now if this is so, mark the conclusion according to Dr. Lorinser's principles. The absence of all trace of the ideas of S'raddha and Bhakti "anywhere else in heathendom" than in the Gita, is urged by Dr. Lorinser as a ground for holding that the ideas "have been taken over from Christianity." Is it not then open to an opponent of Dr. Lorinser to contend, that as the doctrine of S'raddha is not found anywhere in Judaism, "there appears to be no doubt that it is not an originally Christian representation, but that it has been taken over from Hinduism?" I maintain, that as an *argumentum ad hominem* this argument is of great value. And not only so, but I think that even as a general argument, it is entitled to some weight—more especially in view of those considerations which I shall presently proceed to set forth. And this introduces me to the next very important question in this investigation.†

That question is one which has been already hinted at as having never received even a cursory glance from Dr. Lorinser, the question, namely, whether it is not possible that Christianity may have borrowed from Hinduism, and

---

\* Life of Jesus I. 205.

† I do not know by what arguments "Dr. Weber among others has partly demonstrated" that the doctrine of S'raddha has been taken over from Christianity by Hinduism. I do not, therefore, say anything more about them than this, that I think those arguments, whatever they may be, are most likely put out of court by the facts to which we have drawn attention in the text.

not vice versa. The question is undoubtedly a large one, and as important as it is large. I do not profess to have viewed it in all its bearings. I do not propose to discuss it here at any length. For, indeed, I do not consider it necessary or expedient to complicate the present question by such a matter, enveloped, as to a great extent it must be, in doubt. But as it has been strongly suggested to my mind by the method of argument which Dr. Lorjuser has adopted, and as it has a very important bearing upon the central question, I think it necessary to offer a few observations upon it from my point of view.

The first general observation, then, to be made on this aspect of the question is, that every body must admit that philosophy was cultivated from very early times in India. Professor Wilson who expresses a 'shrewd suspicion' as to the originality of the Gita admits the contention of Wilkins and Schlegel to that effect;\* and it is, indeed, a matter beyond the reach of doubt. Now the known character of our people makes it, to my mind, much more likely, that in such intercourse as there was between them and foreigners, the latter carried away with them some knowledge derived from the former, than that foreign thought so far influenced the higher intellects in India as to leave its traces in their most orthodox works.† And if the Greeks and other peoples who came into contact with India did learn some things in the country, what more natural than that such new ideas as they learnt should go towards the formation of that system which arose soon afterwards? This seems to me to be ren-

\* Wilson's Essays on Sanskrit Literature &c. Vol. III. p. 103.

† Professor Weber seems to question the truth of this proposition (*Indische Studien* Vol. II. 397 as translated for me by my kind friend Mr. Sankar Pandurang Pandit) But his argument appears to me to be, in great measure, a *petitio principii*.

dered more likely by the fact, that about the time of Alexander's invasion, Buddhism was agitating Indian religious thought to its core; and such a new system (in which, by the way, several of the so-called characteristic doctrines of Christianity may be found anticipated) was very likely to leave some impression on the minds of the foreigners. Accordingly Dean Milman has said, that "it is by no means improbable that tenets which had their origin in India have for many centuries predominated in or materially affected the Christianity of the whole Western World."<sup>a</sup> In further confirmation of this view, we may refer to the accounts, not indeed well vouched for, but still much better vouched for than Professor Weber's imaginary journeys of Brâhmans to Asia Minor, and probably as well vouched for as the legends about St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew and all the rest of them, we may, I say, usefully refer to the accounts of Pythagoras travelling to India and learning there some of the doctrines of the Indian philosophers of the day.<sup>f</sup> The Essenes also, a sect flourishing at the time of Jesus, are supposed to have had some intercourse with the East, whence they are said to have partly derived their inspiration. And according to Dean Milman, the Jewish doctrine of inheritance of disease by children from their parents may be clearly traced to India.<sup>f</sup> These being some of the facts bearing upon this branch of our investigation, facts, too, admitted by a learned Christian historian, it appears to me, that the theory of Indian philosophy having borrowed from Christianity, based as it is upon the very slender and very deceptive grounds stated by Dr.

<sup>a</sup> Milman's Hist. of Christ. II. 31. And see also Wheeler's India III. 257; and Wilson's Vishnu Purân, Preface p. viii.

<sup>f</sup> See Colebrooke's Essays I. 419. Thomson's Gita Introd. xxviii.

<sup>f</sup> Milman I. 153, 232.

Lorinser and others, is not only unproved but highly improbable. On the contrary, the conclusion to which the facts and probabilities of the case seem to point as more probable is one which the adherents of that theory have not condescended even to glance at, namely, that it is Christianity which has borrowed from Hinduism, and not Hinduism which has borrowed from Christianity.

We now come to the last of Dr. Lorinser's propositions ■ stated above. Dr. Lorinser evidently thinks, that there are no means available for fixing a terminus before which the Gītā must have been composed except the date of its commentator S'ankarāchārya. As to that date ■ a few remarks have been made already. But since the generally received date ■ the eighth century after Christ, and since Dr. Lorinser seems to expect that a later century may yet prove to be the one in which S'ankar flourished, it is as well to draw attention to the fact that the Kādambari of Bāṇabhaṭṭa does enable us to fix a considerably earlier period as a terminus before which the Gītā must have been composed. For in that work one of the equivoques we meet with runs as follows: नरभारतमेयानन्तर्गीताकर्णन्यानिदिननरस्—which may be thus rendered:—[The royal palace] in which people were gratified by hearing innumerable songs [was] like the Mahābhārat, in which Nar (Arjun) was gratified by hearing the Anantagītā. Anantagītā clearly stands here for the Bhagavadgītā. Now Bāṇabhaṭṭa flourished about the middle of the seventh century A. C.† In his time the Mahābhārat was looked upon with

\* See p. 182. (Tārāṇāth's Ed.).

† See Dr. F. E. Hall's Preface to his Vācavadattā p. 17. ■ will there be seen that Bāṇabhaṭṭa's date depends on that of the great Harshavardhan. And the date of that prince, though pronounced by Mr. Ferguson (see J. R. A. S. (N. S.) Vol. IV. p. ■ and Indian Antiquary Vol. II. 83a) to be "fixed within very narrow limits,"

almost, if not altogether, the same feeling of veneration, with which it is looked upon in our own day. Of this work the Gītā had already come to be regarded as a genuine portion. What interval, then, must have elapsed between the composition of the Gītā and the seventh century of the Christian Era? But let us go on to a somewhat earlier period. I will not refer to the quotation in the Panchatantra from the Bhagavadgītā,\* for I do not agree with Dr. Kern about the value of the Panchatantra in such an inquiry.† But we have exceedingly good warrant for holding that the Gītā is older than Kālidās. And first let us look at the Raghuvans'a. Towards the beginning of the eighth canto of that work, we find expressions and ideas which coincide remarkably with expressions and ideas to be found in the Bhagavadgītā. And the inference hence derivable is obviously much stronger than the inferences which Dr. Lorinser has endeavoured to draw from the coincidences, or supposed coincidences, on which he relies. Similar coincidences may be found also in other parts of the works of Kālidās. But the most important of all is to be found in the Kunūr Sambhav VI. 67.‡ It is impossible, I think, to mistake the allusion to the Gītā there. And taking all these passages together, it becomes, I think, quite ought, according to the late Dr. Bhāskar Dājī, to be placed nearly a century earlier (See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII. 250) I believe that Prof. Bhandarkar also, from a consideration of the Vallabhi and Chālukya plates, is inclined to the view that the accepted date of Harshavardhan should be reconsidered.

\* See p. 104 (Kossagarten's Ed.). The quotation ■ not to be found in the edition in the Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics.

† See our Bhartrihari, Introduction p. ix.

‡ See Mallinātha's commentary on this. Among the other parts of Kālidās referred ■ in the text I would specially note Raghu. Canto X. Stanza XXXI. of that canto, more particularly, should be compared with Gītā IV. 9 and III. 22. And see Dr. Lorinser's note ■ p. 288.

evident, that the *Gītā* must have preceded Kālidās by a considerable period. Now it is true that the date of Kālidās is by no means well settled, certainly not as well settled as that of Bāṇabhaṭṭa; still no scholar, I believe, now contends, that Kālidās lived after the sixth century A. C.; and even arguing upon the basis of that date, we are entitled to infer a considerable antiquity for the *Bhagavadgītā*. If any of the earlier dates proposed should prove correct,\* Dr. Lorinser's theory will be at once put out of court.

There is another argument on this part of the question, which is not of great weight, but is, I think, entitled to some consideration. Bhaṭṭa Kumāril is said to have flourished about the close of the seventh century A. C.† A considerable period before him must have lived the author of the best known commentary on the *Pūrvā Mīmāṃsa*, namely Śabar Svāmi. A considerable period, again, must have elapsed between Śabar Svāmi and Jaimini the author of the *Mīmāṃsa* Sūtras. The *Mīmāṃsa* Sūtras on several occasions mention Bādarāyaṇ, who is probably to be identified, and who by Colebrooke is identified, with the author of the Sūtras of the *Uttar Mīmāṃsa*.‡ These Sūtras in their turn mention Jaimini, and the two works may therefore be taken as probably contemporaneous with one another. Now among the Sūtras of the *Uttar Mīmāṃsa*, there are several which refer to certain Smṛitīs as authorities for propositions which they lay

\* See Bhārtihari (Bomb. Series of Sansk. Classics) Introduction p. xii. and references there given.

† See Indian Antiquary Vol. I. 369. See also Windischmann's *Sankar*.

‡ Essays (Madras Ed.) Vol. I. 296. I am bound to state, however, that I have not succeeded in tracing to the *Brahma* Sūtras any of the doctrines ascribed to Bādarāyaṇ in the *Mīmāṃsa* Sūtras. And Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *Prasthānabhāṣaṇa* shows that there were several

down; and in the case of about five of these Sūtras, I have found that the commentaries of Śankarāchārya and Madhvāchārya, and Rāmānujāchārya, differing, as is well known, on the most fundamental points, agree in setting out passages from the Gītā as the Sūrṣis referred to. We may from this infer, though I admit that the inference is not a strong one, that the Gītā was composed before the Brahma Sūtras. If so, then according to what is stated above, we have the Gītā prior to the Brahma Sūtras, the Brahma Sūtras contemporaneous with the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras, the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras prior to Ś'abar, Ś'abar prior to Kumāril, and Kumāril prior to the close of the seventh century A. C. And if this is so, I think the inference can very fairly be drawn, that the Gītā is sufficiently old to negative the theory of Dr. Loriuser. It may be added, that the expression न विद्यते occurs in the Gītā, but, according to all interpretations, not as standing for the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇ. I do not think, however, that any inference can be safely drawn from this circumstance.

As stated above, this argument is not of much weight. There is, however, an argument, based upon a slightly different series of Mīmāṃsā authorities, which is, I contend, entitled to much more weight. Thus we have I. Kumāril Svāmi (seventh century A. C.) II. A considerable time prior to him, Ś'abar Svāmi III. A long time before him, Upavarsha, whom Ś'abar describes in his Mīmāṃsā Bhāshya as "Bhagn-vān Upavarsha"<sup>\*</sup> IV. A considerable time before him, the Brahma Sūtras, for as appears from Ś'ankar's commentary on Brahma Sūtra III., 3, 53, Upavarsha was the author of a work on the Śārikā Mīmāṃsā<sup>†</sup> V. A considerable time

\* P. 13 (Bibl. Ind.)

† See too Colebrooke Essays I. 332. Upavarsha is again mentioned by Ś'ankar at p. 291 of his Bhāshya. I do not know the grounds

before the Brahma Sūtras, the Bhagavadgītā. Upon this last item of the series a few more words may be added here. Under Brahma Sūtra I., 2, 6. S'ankar cites as the Smṛiti referred ■ Gītā XVIII. 61; Madhvā cites X. 20 and XV. 13; and Rāmānuj X. 15, ■ and XVIII. 61, 62—which is notable as combining the passages cited both by S'ankar and Madhvā. On I., 3, ■ S'ankar and Madhvā quote XV. 6, 12; and Rāmānuj quotes XIV., 2. These two instances are of comparatively little moment. The three that follow appear to me, I own, all but conclusive to show that the Gītā was before the mind of the author of the Brahma Sūtras. Under II., 3, 45 all the commentators cite Gītā XV. 7, and the context seems to me to fully justify them. Again under IV., 1, 10. the commentators refer to the same passage, S'ankar and Rāmānuj to Gītā VI. 11, and Madhvā to VI., 13. Lastly under IV. 2, 23 all the commentators refer to the same passage, that at the close of Gītā Chap. VIII. In all three of these cases, the context seems to me to show clearly, that the commentators are perfectly right in considering the Gītā as the Smṛiti which the author of the Sūtras had in his mind. The inference, therefore, when one comes to look into the matter, is immensely stronger than I have described it above; for we have not to rest simply upon the commentators' authority on the point, though their concurrence would itself be a powerful fact.

In considering these arguments and their bearing upon the question before us, it must never be forgotten, that they lead us no further than the limit after which the Gītā could not have been composed. We get nothing positive, not even any hint, as to when precisely it was composed, nor even as to how long before the limit. While it does furnish

---

upon which Weber and Thomson have assigned the Vedānta Sūtras ■ the third century A. C. (See Thomson pp. xlviij. ■ seqq.)

us with a *terminus ad quem*, ■ has not even the tendency to show us a *terminus a quo*. Professor Bhandarkar thinks, that the style of the Sābar Bhāshya belongs to nearly the same period to which the style of Patanjali's Mahābhāshya belongs. As far as I have looked at the two works, I am inclined to accept this opinion. And if it is correct, then upon the foregoing argument the Gītā must have been composed at the latest somewhere about the fourth century B. C. Furthermore, we have also to remember, that Śankar was one of the later commentators on the Brahma Sūtras. Colebrooke states that a commentary on the Brahma Sūtras is ascribed to the sage Bandhūyan,\* though his work is not now forthcoming. And this circumstance has also to be weighed in the consideration of the question before us. Nor must it be forgotten that even on the Bhagavadgītā itself, Śankarāchārya, as stated before, was not the earliest commentator. On the contrary, from the introduction to his Bhāshya, it would appear that several writers before him had interpreted the Gītā, and in modes which did not coincide with his—a circumstance which would seem to indicate, that the sectaries had been, already before Śankar's time, at work upon the Gītā, in order to be able to claim for their own opinions the sanction of that book. If so, it becomes probable, that the Gītā had, long before Śankar's time, begun to be regarded as a work of very high authority; and the interval between its composition and that of Śankar's commentary must have been even larger than the five centuries which Dr. Lorinser reluctantly allows. However that may be, it appears to me to result from what has been stated above, that Dr. Lorinser's position on this last point is as untenable as his position on the other points,

---

\* See Essays Vol. I.-p. 332.

and that the indications which the evidence before us gives are strongly against his final conclusion.

We have now finished the observations we have to make upon the several propositions laid down by Dr. Lorinser with regard to the Bhagavadgītā and upon the arguments by which he has sought to fortify them. But before proceeding to the few other points which we propose to notice, it may be advisable to consider what is said on our subject by Mr. Thomson, to whom we are indebted for a very good English translation of the Gītā. In his Introduction to that translation, and in the notes which he has added to it, there are observations interspersed which furnish a hint as to Mr. Thomson's opinion about the age of the Bhagavadgītā. I am not aware, however, that he has explicitly stated the chronological limits within which he supposes the Gītā to have been composed in any other passage than the following extracted from his Introduction. After stating that a "burning sun" and a "hot wind" drove not only the Brāhmaṇas but also the Kshatriyas to asceticism, and that "in virtue of the powers acquired" by such asceticism, the Kshatriyas attempted to wrest from the Brāhmaṇas the exclusive right to minister to the spiritual necessities of the people, Mr. Thomson proceeds:—"The Brāhmaṇin trembled at this new danger, and no longer able to seek support in any of the other castes,<sup>\*</sup> had recourse to conciliatory means, and the way was thus prepared for the teachings of the Bhagavadgītā. Such however were not the only causes which gave rise to the Karmayoga doctrines of our poem; and a long interval of perhaps several centuries must have intervened between the Yoga of Patanjali and the new branch of that school. Indeed if we may place the probable date of the Yogn Sūtras between 400 B. C. and 100 B. C., we must consider that of

---

\* Mr. Thomson does not state why this was so.

the Bhagavadgita to lie between 100 B. C. and 300 A. D. But this only by the way."\* As above stated, this is the least vague passage on the subject of the date of the Gita which I have been able to find in Mr. Thomson's book. Let us examine it. In the first place, I must take leave to observe, that I am not quite satisfied with the arguments by which Mr. Thomson makes out that the system of Patanjali is posterior to the rise of Buddhism. But as it is neither necessary nor desirable to go into that question on this occasion, I shall for the purposes of the present argument proceed upon the assumption that that posteriority is made out. But upon the other point, as to the priority of Patanjali's system to the Bhagavadgita, I must join issue with Mr. Thomson. The only reason which he has adduced for his proposition is based upon that bit of Indian religious history which is contained in the passage above set out. Mr. Thomson says, indeed, that "there is every reason to believe" the Gita to be several centuries later than Patanjali.† But he does not state any other "reason" than that above referred to. Now that being so, the question arises—from what materials has Mr. Thomson constructed this interesting historical narrative? I am not aware of any evidence which shows that the Kshatriyas, as a body, had at any period of our ancient history begun to encroach on the domain of the Brâhmanas, either in consequence of Patanjali's Yog system or of anything else.‡ The case of King Janak is always treated, so to say, as standing alone. And no less so

\* Introd. p. xiii.

† P. lxxxii.

‡ Mr. Thomson's broad inference to this effect finds but a narrow basis in Gita III. 24 on which he rests it (see p. 23 of his translation note 27.)

■ that of Vis'āmitra.<sup>\*</sup> Those stories do not seem to me to show that "the Kshatriya was allure<sup>n</sup> from the toils of an active life to the enjoyments of profitable repose"; while the manner in which they are treated, whenever allusion ■ made to them, appear to indicate that one main point marked about them was their exceptional character. And when Mr. Thomson, in his graphic account of the religious revolution he describes, speaks of "kingdoms and principalities being abandoned to their own guidance states left defenceless" and so forth, one is almost tempted to say that he is here evolving history out of his inner consciousness. He certainly has shown no scrap of evidence, valuable or otherwise, for that statement. As Mr. Matthew Arnold says with regard to a somewhat similar matter in connexion with modern Biblical criticism, Mr. Thomson's narrative is at the best "plausible"; but it is, I submit, quite impossible to allow a whole historic superstructure like Mr. Thomson's theory to be based on such a plausible which is, in other words, an excessively weak—foundation. But I do not think, that we need rest content with merely this negative argument on this subject. For I think that we have some slight evidence which points the other way. And first, a system called the Yog is mentioned several times in the Gītā,<sup>†</sup> and in some places as distinguished from what is there called the Sāṅkhyā system. Is this Yog system identical with what we now know under that name, namely the system of Patañjali? Commenting on Gītā II. 39 Mr. Thomson says, that "undoubtedly the names by which the two schools of philosophy were known are here intended,

\* Mr. Thomson refers to this in the note at p. xlvi. where there is some misprint, I think. It may be remarked also that both the stories are of very great antiquity.

† See, for instance, Gītā II. 39, V. 4, 5 among other passages.

in the words Sāṅkhyā and Yoga.”\* This is not perfectly clear; but if it means, that in the passage in question, the systems of philosophy now known to us — Sāṅkhyā and Yog are referred to, that is not only not indubitable, but is, I think, highly improbable. For if we consider the Sāṅkhyā doctrine as expounded in the verses preceding the verse above referred to, we shall find it, I think, somewhat difficult to identify it with any portion of the current Sāṅkhyā philosophy. And similarly the doctrine that the fruit of action should never be regarded, that men should preserve equability of mind whatever the results of their acts may be —these are doctrines which are most prominent in the Yog system as understood in the Gītā, yet I think, we shall search for them in vain throughout the Sūtras of our Yog Philosophy, namely the Sūtras of Patañjali. Again, when we are told, as we are in Gītā V. 4, 5, that he sees truly who sees no difference between the Sāṅkhyā and the Yog systems, I think it is almost impossible to admit that the Sāṅkhyā and Yog here meant are identical with the systems now known to us under those names. And if this is so, if it is true, that a Yog system is mentioned in the Gītā, and that system is different from the Yog system of Patañjali, what is the conclusion as to the relative dates of the Bhagavad-gītā and Patañjali which is hence derivable? Upon the principle underlying some of the arguments of the late Professor Goldstücker in his very elaborate and learned work on Pāṇini, we may conclude that the Gītā must have preceded the Yog Sūtras.† I must own, however,

\* P. 14, note 21.

† See Pāṇini p. 130. “Is it possible to assume” asks Prof. Goldstücker “that Pāṇini could have known this sense of the word Āranyaka, when he is altogether silent about it; and if ■

that I am not quite satisfied with the soundness of the principle in question. I am unable to persuade myself, that the argument in the case before us, for instance, entitles us to conclude more than this—that when the Gītā was composed, the name Yog was probably not the name of Patanjali's system of philosophy.\* Such an inference in the present case, would, I think, be somewhat strong, on account of the association of Sāṅkhya with Yog; for these two words so intimately connected with each other in recent times would not have been used as they are used in the Gītā, if they had designated at the time of the Gītā the same things that they designate now. This inference, however, standing by itself, does not carry us very far in our search for the relative dates of the Gītā and Patanjali. Let us, therefore, look at another point in connexion with the two works. In Gītā VI. 34, ■ we have some observations on the unsteadiness of the mind and the means of making it steady. The same point is discussed in Yog Sūtras I. 12-16. Now I think, the difference between the two is one which lies upon the surface. And it is this. In the one we trace the age of systems; in the other the age of poetry. In the one we have definition, division, a fitting in of the particular part into the rest of the system. In the other we have no such attempt at systematizing at all; but immediately after

---

did not know it, that the works so called could have already existed in his time?" The *non sequitur* appears to me to lie ■ this last point of the argument.

\* That this ■ not hypercritical may be seen from this that Vedāntins (Goldstücker p. 150) were of old called Aupanishads. (See our Bhārtṛhari Introd. p. vi.) Sāṅkhya was also called Samikshya (Māg. II. 59) and Nyāya ■ otherwise called Āṇvikshiki, and, perhaps, वाक्यशास्त्र also [see Śankar on Chhādogyā Upanishad p. 475; but also Kāyat on Mahābhāskṛta p. 16 (Bānīras. Ed.)].

a merely cursory hint as to this matter is dropped, the discussion branches off into a very different subject. Having regard to these circumstances, and to the fact, that with respect to its unsystematic and poetical character,<sup>\*</sup> the Gītā is one of a class of works--the Upanishads being of much the same nature—I think it not quite unsafe to conclude that the Gītā was probably older than the Yog Sūtras. At all events, I think, the argument is perfectly good to this extent, that it shows, that the priority of the latter over the former cannot be taken, as Mr. Thomson seems inclined to take it, as a mere matter of course.

There are sundry other passages in Mr. Thomson's work referring to this point of the date of the Gītā. In one place he takes the last line of the 67th Stanza of Chapter XVIII. to refer to the Śaiv sect; and says, that when the epoch of their battles with the Vaishṇav party shall have been determined, "some approximation will have been made to the date of the composition of the Bhagavadgītā."<sup>†</sup> But in the first place, I do not see the necessity of interpreting, as Mr. Thomson interprets, the 'me' in Chap. XVIII. St. 67 to mean specifically Viśṇu or Kṛishṇa. It may mean the Supreme Being without reference to any particular manifestation of Him; and by His 'revilers' may be intended all godless people, not necessarily people of any particular sect. And in the second place, this opinion of Mr. Thomson's is not easily reconciliable with the opinion which he has also elsewhere pronounced, that the author of the Gītā was probably a contemporary of

\* Compare as in this Thomson's Introduction p. xvi. and also Muir S. T. III. 175 note. It cannot be urged that there was no room for a full treatment of the subject, for there is a very lengthy description just before of the true mode of attaining the Yog.

† P. 121.

Kālidās.\* For in Kālidās, at any rate, we have evidence not of sectarian quarrel, but of peace and amity.† And thirdly it may be observed—though in the present state of our knowledge the observation ■ not of much value—that the epoch of the battles between the S'āivs and Vaishnavs is, I believe, generally placed at about the seventh or eighth centuries of the Christian Era, about the time in fact when Śāṅkar the great commentator on the Gītā flourished. Upon the whole, I think, we cannot safely accept Mr. Thomson's conclusion upon this point. In the same note Mr. Thomson also suggests, that "our poem must have been written either before or after the religious revolution of Buddha, at a period when the hierarchy were supreme in power, and science and philosophy were forced, as in the days of Galileo and the Inquisition, to creep in by stealth."‡ This is by no means very definite. Mr. Thomson afterwards speaks of the author as "probably warned already by the defeat of Buddhism." But what is the meaning of "the defeat of Buddhism?" From the time of As'ok to that of Harshavardhan, we have evidence to show that Buddhism flourished in India with scarcely any vicissitudes of fortune, and was, in some instances, patronized by Indian princes side by

\* P. xlii., and p. cxiv. At p. xlvi. Mr. Thomson speaks of the age of Kālidās as that in which "the elegant and measured Slokas of a Vālmiki were revived." What ■ the meaning of this, and what is the evidence for it?

† Compare Kumār. Canto II. with Raghu. Canto X. and Canto I. St. 1 and see Kumār. Canto VII. St. 44. Compare also Bhartrihari (Bomb. Series of Sansk. Classics) Introd. p. xix.

‡ P. 121. To Gītā XVIII. 67, from which Mr. Thomson draws this inference, we have a parallel in Manu I. 103 which is, perhaps, even more narrow.

side with Brâhmanism.\* I cannot, therefore, understand to what period, according to this conjecture of Mr. Thomson's, the Gîtâ will have to be assigned. In another place, Mr. Thomson again argues, that "this poem was composed after the rise of Buddhism."† But here also, I think it difficult to accept either his premises or his conclusion. He again gives us a short historical narrative without so much as referring to the evidence upon which it is based. And ■ is further noteworthy, that whereas Mr. Thomson has said in his Introduction‡ that the Gîtâ was composed when the Kshatriyas were trying to wrest spiritual superiority out of the hands of the Brâhmans, he talks here as if the Brâhmans had already triumphed, and had compelled the Kshatriyas to make common cause with them against the "growing power" of the Vais'yas and the S'âdras. Such are the contradictions into which people run, when they leave the *terra firma* of tangible evidence for the aerial ways, if I may so say, of imaginative history. It is unnecessary, I humbly conceive, to examine in detail Mr. Thomson's remarks in the passage now under consideration. It is enough to say, in the first place, that his statements of fact are without foundation; and secondly, that the inference which he draws from the passage of the Gîtâ does not arise from it at all.

We now proceed to a few points which appear to us ■ be of some value in this investigation, but which have not been considered by either Dr. Lorinser or Mr. Thomson. And first, the metre of the Gîtâ in some of its stanzas calls

\* Compare Kâdambarî (Thârnâth's Ed.) pp. 133 and 384; and the copperplates recently deciphered as to which see *inter alia* J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X. p. 76; Indian Antiquary Vol. IV. pp. 107, 174.

† P. 67.

‡ See p. xciii of this *Essay suprd.*

for a few remarks. If we take a rapid survey of the poetical portion of Sanskrit Literature, we shall find, I think, a certain development in respect of metrical regularity from the Vedic age to the age of what is called the classical literature. In the Veds, it is impossible to trace a rigid scheme to which verses of the same metre shall be found to adhere. There is, of course, a general similarity, and with the assistance of the *iyādipārap*\* and other metrical fictions, as they may be called, we can generally obtain the requisite number of syllables. But what we cannot obtain is the uniform collocation of the long and short syllables. A verse that is perfect according to the modern rigid schemes of the several metres, is not the rule but the exception. Now if we come to the Upanishads, we still find these same metrical irregularities, but they become, I believe, perceptibly fewer in number. Many of the Upanishad verses are perfectly regular according to the modern schemes, and may be very smoothly chanted in the manner in which classical Sanskrit verses can be chanted. But although the number of irregularities has fallen off, complete regularity has not yet been secured at this stage of metrical progress. Next after the Upanishads, or about the same time, come the Gītā and other works of that class. Here, too, we have irregularities, but very much fewer in number than those we meet with in the Vedic Sānhitās, and perhaps, also fewer than those in the Upanishads. And if we look next at the whole body of classical literature, we find there the irregularities conspicuous by their all but total absence. This result, which we may obtain by a rapid review of Sanskrit Poetry will, I think, be found to be, in some measure, strengthened by the

---

\* Compare Pingal Chandas Sūtra III. 2, and Max Müller's Translation of the Rīgved, Introduction p. xxiii.

testimony of the indigenous technical writers on Sanskrit Prosody. The chief, and indeed the only, writer to be consulted on this matter, is of course Pingal, whose Chandas Sūtras have been recently published with the commentary of Hālīyudh in the Bibliotheca Indica. Now the fourteenth Sūtra of the first chapter of Pingal is यत् which, according to the commentator Hālīyudh, is an Adhikār Sūtra—applicable, as the commentator says, throughout the “Sāstra.” And the meaning of it is, that when nothing specific is stated, long and short syllables may occur indiscriminately. Now as a matter of fact nothing specific is to be found till we come to Chapter IV. Sūtra 15. In the metres mentioned down to that Sūtra, therefore, there is complete freedom as to long and short syllables. Now Chapter IV. Sūtra 8 says that thereafter the “laukik”—or as it may be called, classical—section begins; the Vedic metres having been treated of in the Sūtras preceding it. And in the whole of that section the particular order in which the long and short syllables must occur is everywhere stated. We know, too, that these fixed schemes of the several metre are practically observed in the classical literature, as they are theoretically laid down, with great rigour.\* And from all this, I think, it is not a very bold proceeding to conclude, that those works in which we observe any remarkable number of deviations from the fixed metrical schemes may be placed out of the pale of the classical literature, and consequently, I may add, some considerable time before the beginning of the Christian Era. For Pingal himself, ■ an author, of very respectable antiquity, as he is mentioned in the Śābar Bhāshya, about which we have spoken a word before. And even in the

\* Compare the verse मापस्यामि मर्तुं कुर्याच्छन्दोऽस्मै रितमेवत् which is quoted in a different form by Mallinātha on Raghu. XIX. 23.

† P. 16. (Bibl. Ind. Ed.).

Manu<sup>1</sup> Sankhit, we have a rigorous adherence to the metrical schemes which is far greater than that to be found in the Gita.\*

I may observe that the question of the metrical regularity of Vedic verses has been copiously discussed by European scholars of great note. It is not necessary, however, for our present topic to enter into that discussion. Nor have I studied the Vedic metres sufficiently to do so. It seems to me, I confess, that the irregularities which manifest themselves in different degrees at different stages of the post-Vedic literature raise a sort of presumption in favour of the existence of similar irregularities in greater abundance in the Vedic literature. And the discussion of the question of Vedic metres may, perhaps, be in some degree advanced towards a settlement, if the later literature is considered. I understand Prof. Max Müller's opinion to be in favour of holding, what is assumed in our argument above, that the irregularities in Vedic verses are not the result of mislections,† as some scholars seem to contend, but are genuine characteristics of Vedic verse.

If now we turn our attention to the style and language of the Gita, we shall find, I think, further corroboration for the view which we have here taken of its antiquity. The style throughout impresses me as archaic in its simplicity. You have none of that exuberance of figure and trope which marks the classical literature. You have no long and involved compounds; no puzzling syntactical constructions;

\* See the passages of Manu cited in the Digest of Hindu Law by West and Bühler Vol. I. Introd. p. xxix. and the older passages (also there cited) on which Manu's are based. With these compare the Stanzas in Gita Chap. XI.

† Translation of the Rigved by Max Müller Vol. I. Introd. pp. xx vi. &c seq.

no attempt at securing the jingle of like sounds.\* We have, on the contrary, those repetitions of single phrases which have been noted before as characteristic of archaic writings;† we have a few instances of inartificial grammatical constructions;‡ and once we find that particle§ ॑, which is well-known as occurring in the epic poems, and in the Vedic literature in the form ए, but which, I think, never occurs in either form in the classical literature. There are sundry words also, which occur in the Gītā in senses other than those which they bear in the classical literature.|| Of course, this statement must be taken subject to some allowance, as it is almost impossible for anybody to say, that any given word has ceased to have a particular sense attached to it at a particular stage of Sanskrit literature. Nevertheless, I believe I may say, that the following words in the Gītā bear different senses from those which they bear in the classical literature. सत्ता (I. 7) अता (II. 14) अन् (II. 16) भावा (II. 54) संप्रह (III. 20 and 25) यज्ञ (IV. 7) यज्ञके (IX. 14) दीप (X. 18; also IX. 5) ब्रह्म (XIV. 8) भजोऽनुष्ठान् (XVI. 2) संस्करण (XI. 1). Some other words might be easily added to this list. But these will suffice to show the truth of what has been asserted above. There is but one other word on which, perhaps, a special remark deserves to be made.

\* Mr. Thomson has noted one instance at VI. 23. A similar instance is noted by Mr. Muir in the Rigved. See Muir Sanskrit Texts Vol. V. p. 165.

† *Suprā* p. lxi.

‡ See Gītā II. 59. X. 16, 19 among other instances.

§ Chap. II. 9 where, also, the repetition of उम्भुः is inartistic.

|| Compare the observations upon this point of the late Professor Goldstücker in his Pāṇini p. 128.

¶ This, indeed, is altogether an anomalous word.

That word is एव. It occurs twice in the Gītā, first in I. 39 and secondly in XIV. 9. Annotating on the latter stanza, Mr. Thomson writes:— “Lassen has a long irrelevant note on the force of एव, very useful in a grammar of the Vedas, but of doubtful value for a poem of the date of ours. Suffice it to say, that as he has shown, the fanciful explanation of the scholars must be rejected, and the common use of the particle throughout the ‘Mahābhārata,’ and other works of like style and approximate date, be accepted, namely, that of a confirmatory expletive.”\* This is a rather remarkable note. In the first place, Mr. Thomson seems to think, that the Mahābhārat belongs all to one age, a position for which very few, if any, advocates will be found in these days. But if he does not think so, it is somewhat difficult to understand the precise meaning of his final observation. “Like style and approximate date” to the Mahābhārat means nothing unless any precise part of the Bhārat is specified. And if Mr. Thomson has no objection to the Gītā being considered as of “like style and approximate date” to the oldest parts of the Mahābhārat, I have no quarrel with his remark. For I think Professor Goldstücker was perfectly right in contending that the oldest portions of the Bhārat are older even than the rise of Buddhism.† And when Mr. Thomson speaks of Lassen’s note as “of doubtful value for a poem of the date of ours,” he seems to forget that the subject of the note ■ one of the material elements in the consideration of the date of our poem, and cannot therefore be disposed of in that off-hand style. What we have to mark and consider is that एव appears to be used here as a conjunctive particle, as it ■ used in the Vedic literature, and not as a disjunctive

\* P. 93. As to the ‘fanciful explanation’ Conf. West and Bühler Vol. I. p. xxx, Introd.

† Westminster Review (April 1868) p. 420.

which I believe, is the only use to which it is put in the classical literature.

A few words are necessary upon the grammatical structure of the language of the Gītā. Now ■ will not be by any means difficult ■ show, that there are several grammatical forms in the Gītā which are not used, and cannot correctly be used, in the classical literature, and which are not sanctioned by the precepts of the "grammatical saints." Thus प्रसिद्धात् (III. 10) संयमनम् (X. 29) ग्राम वस्त् (XI. 54); दिक्षिणे (XI. 41), प्रियापर्वति (XI. 44 dissolved into प्रियायः वर्ति)—these are some of the forms which occur in the Gītā, which would be quite unallowable in the classical literature. And it may, therefore, be plausibly argued upon the strength of these forms, that the Gītā must be assigned to an epoch considerably older than that of the classical literature, and therefore many years prior to the Christian Era. At the same time, I must state, that while this is a favourite argument with European scholars,\* it is not one which is quite satisfactory. My very able and learned friend Professor R. G. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the argument proves nothing. And he relies on the fact, that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, for instance, which is undoubtedly a very old work, is in its grammar scrupulously exact, and strictly adheres to the rules laid down in the Āśtādhyāyī. Now this must be admitted to be a very remarkable circumstance, worthy of notice in considering the weight to be attached to the argument from grammatical anomalies. We may further add that even in the admittedly later literature, we several times find grammatical forms often quite as anomalous as any that the Gītā or any other archaic work can show. Thus no less a writer than Kālidāsa has more than once the form वृत्त,† which,

\* See West and Bühler's Digest Vol. I. Introd. xvii. or Indian Antiquary I. 182.

† Kumār. I. 35, Baghu. XIV. 23.

according to Pāṇini II. 4, 52, cannot be correct. True the commentators,\* as is their wont, resort to all manner of shifts in order to explain the form. But there can, I apprehend, be little doubt that Kālidās has there used a form which Pāṇini has prohibited. The same form recurs, strange to say, even in the Sāṅkara Vijaya of Mādhabāchārya.† Kālidās has further the following forms which are not allowable in the classical literature—कामयन् and तर्सियन् and जाम्यमग्न्.‡ And it would not, I think, be very difficult to cull a few similar instances from other writers. In Pāṇini V. 2 89, it is laid down that the word परिपन्थी is used अन्तर्भूते; yet the passages are numerous in which we find modern poets using the word.§ In fact, the Siddhānta Kaumudi shows several cases where the ingenuity of grammarians is very much exercised to explain what, according to the established rules of grammar, would be errors.|| And the only explanation available in some cases is निरपेक्षाः कायः, or कर्तव्यशु पद्मे प्रवृत्त्यामि,¶ or something to that effect. It would seem, therefore, that the rule which has been commonly adopted in this matter is one which fails both in the anvaya and the vyatirek, as our native logicians would put it. The induction is incorrect both ways. There are unquestionably ancient works which scrupulously adhere to the rules of grammar. There are unquestionably modern works which deviate from those rules. It must be held, therefore, that

\* See under Kumār. I. 35.

† See Sarga III. Stanza 6.

‡ Raghu. XIX. 50; V. 61; V. 34. And see Siddh. Kaum. II. 364.

§ See Kāvya Prakāśa p. 271 (Ed. Mahes'achandra) अरिपन्थ्यनी occurs in the Mālatī Mādhav.

|| Vide *inter alia* II. 245 (Thāraṇī's Ed.)

¶ See Siddh. Kaum. II. 364. In the Mahābhāshya under Pāṇini I. 4, 2 we find Patañjali saying अन्तेवत्कर्त्तयः कुर्वन्ति (p. 269 Banaras Ed.).

grammatical anomalies, standing by themselves, are not necessarily an index of the antiquity of the works in which they occur. And it may be doubted, also, whether they are of much value even when coupled with other considerations.

Turn we now to the contents of the Gita to consider whether they afford anything that may prove of assistance in this investigation. We have already referred to its mode of treating its subject in some parts, and have argued that it bespeaks an epoch previous to the epoch of cut and dry systems. We have also referred to the use of the terms Sankhya\* and Yog, and contended that the Gita was probably composed before those systems came into existence. We shall now proceed to draw attention also to a few other points which are not, perhaps, of very considerable weight, standing alone, but which all taken together may, I think, be regarded as of some value. And first the Gita mentions only three Vedas.† And of these it regards the Samaved as the best,‡ therein agreeing with the Aitareya Brahman, as we have pointed out in our note on the passage. Now it is remarkable, that in the Manu Smriti the Samaved appears to have been ousted from this eminence,§ since we read in Manu IV. 124 :—**समर्तः स्युतः शिष्यलस्मानस्याग्निचर्पनिः;** and based on this the injunction in 128 **सामवनादृपद्युषी वर्णितेऽकराचन.** Further no

\* By an oversight I omitted to refer to Gita XVIII. 13 on this point. I have failed to trace the "five conditions" there stated in any work on what is now known to us as the Sankhya Philosophy. We must, therefore, adhere to the opinion expressed above, in spite of Vijnanu Bhikshu's contention the other way in the Introduction to his Bhashya on the Sankhya Sutras. See too Mr. Thomson's note at p. 115. It is also noteworthy that Sankhya Sutra I. 85 seems ■ run counter to the theory of the Gita as to action without desire.

† IX. 17.

‡ X. 22.

§ Cf. Muir S. T. Vol. III. Preface p. 9 (which I have since seen).

allusion ■■■ be found in the Gītā to the Trinity which ■■■ referred to even by Bharṭihari and Kālidāsa.\* Indra ■■■ still described by implication as the chief of the Gods.† S'ankaracāra is described only as the chief of the Rudras.‡ And although undoubtedly Kṛishṇa is identified with Viśhvā, and both are identified with the Supreme Being, still in one place, Viśhvā is referred to as chief of the Ādityas.§ That no argument can be based on the high veneration paid to Viśhvā in the Gītā for holding it to be later than the Christian Era has been already stated.|| It is desirable, however, ■■■ make a few more observations upon this point. It appears to me to be clear from the evidence collected, with such fulness by Mr. Muir, that there are to be found even in the oldest of the Vedas not a few passages which, if they stood alone, "might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods."¶|| It is true, that Mr. Muir points out several circumstances which appear to him to lead to the conclusion, that Viśhvā "occupied a somewhat subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the ancient Rishis."|| But although his argument is fairly open to an orthodox Hindu believing in the revealed character of the Rigved, it is at least a matter of doubt whether it lies in the mouth of a European Sanskritist of the present day to insist upon it. The circumstances on which Mr. Muir relies do not, I submit, justify the conclusion drawn from them. If we made a collection of

\* See "Was the Rāmāyaṇa copied from Homer?" p. 46, note 101 and Bharṭihari Introd. xix.

† X. 21.

‡ X. 22.

§ X. 23.

¶ See p. lxxiii. *suprā*

|| Muir S. T. Vol. IV. (New. Ed.) p. 26.

passages from the classical Sanskrit Literature containing praises of various Deities, I think the collection would show many of the marks which Mr. Muir finds in the Rigved. We shall find now Vishṇu and now Śankar, now Ganes' and now Devī, all represented as the highest Deity. We shall find likewise, that in some passages, the powers conceded to one of them are nevertheless stated to come from another of them. We shall find in hymns specially dedicated to one of them that all the others are clubbed together with the minor members of the Hindu Pantheon in one promiscuous crowd. I do not know that we should be entitled to draw from such a collection any inferences like those which Mr. Muir draws from the Rigved collection. Yet the cases are quite parallel. I admit that the fact of a comparatively small number of hymns being addressed to Vishṇu is worthy of note, and would seem to indicate that, in the age of the Rigved, Vishṇu had not been regarded as the highest divinity by a very large proportion of the ancient Rishis. Nevertheless it is obvious that the germ was there; and I do not think that it would take all those centuries, which, according to European scholars, intervened between the Vedic age and the classical age, for that germ to develop into the later view of Vishṇu's divinity. And if this is correct, it is enough for the purposes of our present argument. For all we have to consider here is whether the eminence which Vishṇu occupies in the Bhagavadgītā is one to which he could not have risen from his position in the Vedic age, except after the lapse of the centuries which separate the Vedic age from the birth of Christ. I maintain that such a length of time is quite unnecessary.

It has been suggested, indeed, that the "Vishṇu of the Veda is in no way the Vishṇu of the mythologists."<sup>\*</sup> But I under-

---

\* Muir S. T. Vol. IV. (New Ed.) Preface p. x. note.

stand this to mean simply that some of the qualities and actions attributed to Vishnu by the "mythologists" are not found attributed to him in the Veds. And if this is the only meaning of the assertion, then, I conceive, that it does not by any means affect our argument. Vishnu as one of the Ādityas is alluded to, as pointed out by Mr. Muir himself, in the Atharva Ved and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ.<sup>\*</sup> So that upon that ground nothing can be said against the antiquity of the Gītā which also speaks of him as one of the Ādityas. Vishnu as the Highest Being, also, is referred to as much in some of the hymns of the Rigved as he is in the Gītā. Whatever, therefore, may be the view of the mythologists, there is nothing in the Gītā to necessitate its being classed with their writings and nothing, therefore, in the view which the Gītā takes of Vishnu's divinity, that in any way affects our conclusion.

Come we now to another point. At Gītā X. 35 we read मासानि मृग्योर्षीर्षम्. The only commentary in which I have seen any explanation of this is Madhusūdana's.† He ascribes the position here assigned to this month to its merits as neither very hot nor very cold and so forth. But I think it more likely, — Lassen argues, that the reason for mentioning the Mārgas'irsha above others is that it was formerly the month with which the year commenced. Now Lassen points out, that according to Bentley, Mārgas'irsha was the first month of the year between 693 and 451 B. C.; and he adds that if that were correct, the age of the Bhagavadgītā would be indicated by this passage. I own, however, that I cannot yet accept this argument. For even in the time of Amar Sinha, apparently, Mārgas'irsha was still the first month of the year. That appears to me to be a safe inference from the

\* Muir S. T. Vol. IV. 115.

† See it quoted in Schlegel's Gītā by Lassen p. 276.

fact, that in the enumeration of the different names of the months, Amar mentions the Mārgasīraha month first.\* Now it is true that the date of Amar is not yet well settled, but tradition does not carry it further back than 56 B. C.; while Prof. Wilson is not quite certain as to whether that date or the fifth century A. C. is the correct date;† and Prof. Kern seems to be quite decisive in favour of the latter date.‡ Whichever view is taken, however, the date of Amar does not fall within the limits stated by Bentley; and the matter is one therefore which requires further elucidation. I am unable to throw any light upon it, and I must therefore leave it here.

Let us now proceed to another point. And let us compare the view of caste taken in the Gita with that in Manu. The duties of a Brāhmaṇa are stated in the Gita at Chap. XVIII. 42, and by Manu in Chap. I. 88. The former lays down as the duty of a Brāhmaṇa the acquisition of sundry moral and religious virtues, such as purity, straight-forwardness and so forth. The latter lays down the well-known six-fold division of a Brāhmaṇa's duties. Now I think that a comparison of these two views shows that the view of the Gita is considerably older than the other. In fact it appears to me to take us back to the time when the differentia of the Brāhmaṇa caste was a living reality, and had not as yet petrified into a mere dogma. The doctrine of Manu appears to me to be the doctrine of a Brāhmanical priesthood, involving little, if any, responsibility, but conferring numerous valuable privileges. The doctrine of the Gita is that of a class which is really superior in a certain sort

\* See Kānda I. St. 1 (Khāvarga) and Varḍhamānibhir ad finem.

† Essays &c. Vol. III. 184. And see Goldstücker's Dictionary under

‡ See the Preface to his Brāhmanikā.

of intrinsic worth, and which does not desire that superiority to continue divorced from that worth.<sup>67</sup> The Gita seems to me to belong ■ the age when the Brâhman still possessed that which had made him the head of Hindu society. The Manu Smriti seems to belong to the age when the Brâhman continued to enjoy the position of head, not so much because of his possession at that time of the virtues which had originally raised him to it, as because of the rules laid down with authority ■ a time when those virtues had not yet died away. Furthermore the generality of statement in the Gita, contrasted with the specific hard and fast rules laid down by Manu, appears to me to show that Manu belongs to a later stage of religious development. If we now compare the duties of Kshatriyas ■ laid down in the two works, we still obtain the same results. The Gita enforces the acquisition of those qualities which made the Kshatriya what he was—bravery, courage, the imperial dignity. That, like the rule about the Brâhman's duties, appears to me again to lead us back far into antiquity, when the difference of castes existed in its original form as a division of classes, consequent on a division of labour. Fight and conquer enemies; acquire booty and make presents out of the booty so acquired. That is the Kshatriya's mode of life. See now the view which Manu places before us. And first, protection of subjects. Compare that with the less specific imperial dignity, or bravery in war of the Gita; ■ shows an advance on the state of society exhibited in the latter work. And next, sacrifices and study; that again shows a well-settled state of society, and one in which the Kshatriya's

---

\* Mr. Thomson (p. 121), thinks that "our post-philosopher" did not wish the Kshatriya and Vais'ya to be initiated ■ his doctrines except with great care. I do not think that Gita XVIII. 67, from which Mr. Thomson draws this among other inferences, shows any such disinclination on the part of the author.

duties required him to call in the help of the Brâhman. In regard to the Vais'ya, there is much less difference between the two views. The Manu Smriti adds sacrifices and study to the list given by the Gita, and therefore, it is here open to the last remark made above with regard to the Kshatriyas. The unfortunate S'ûdra is in precisely the same position in the Gita and in Manu. But taking the two pictures thus presented to us, I think there can be little doubt, that the Gita mirrors a state of society considerably more ancient than that which Manu presents to our view. There is nothing in the Gita corresponding to the laudation of the Brâhman to be found in Manu I. 93 *et seq.* And perhaps also it is not quite unworthy of note, that whereas the Gita refers for the origin of these duties to the Svâbhâv,<sup>o</sup> the constitution or nature of each class, Manu says it is laid down by divine authority.

There is another passage in the Gita upon which a question somewhat akin to the one we have now been discussing may be raised. I refer to Gita Chap. IV. 2-3. Mr. Thomson thinks the passage "curious.....as giving to the Kshatriya caste, the Râjarshis, the honour of its transmission, (scil. of the Yog system,) a sop offered to the offended lion by the wary Brâhman." I cannot see what led Mr. Thomson to propound this view of the passage. But why, I would fain know, was the "lion" offended? It will be remembered, that the Kshatriya has already figured in Mr. Thomson's pages firstly as hankering after the "enjoyment of profitable repose;" and secondly as being compelled "to join the Brâhman against the bulk of the populace."<sup>f</sup> He now assumes a third character—not quite consistent with either of the these two—standing forth as the "offended lion." And

<sup>o</sup> See too Gita IV. 13.

<sup>f</sup> P. xliv. (Introd.) and p. 67.

all this, be it remembered, just about the period when the Bhagavadgītā appeared. I cannot reconcile these various views, nor can I discover the evidence for any one of them. And in this state, therefore, I will leave them. It appears to me, that the Kshatriya receives comparatively high honour in the Gītā, not only in the passage under consideration, but also in Gītā Chap. IX. 33, in which Mr. Thomson is again pleased to see a "lump of sugar thrust down the Kshatriya's throat."\* That this is not so, that our view of these passages is more correct, appears to me to result, in some measure, from the view of caste generally, which, as shown above, is exhibited in the Gītā.

There is but one other point upon which we now propose to dwell. And that is that we find one whole stanza common to the Gītā and Manu, and several in which the ideas expressed coincide, though there is little or no coincidence of language. The one stanza which we refer to is Manu I. 73, which, with a few variations, is the same as Gītā VIII. 17. A comparison of these two stanzas appears to me to corroborate the view which we have taken above of the relative dates of Manu and the Gītā. In the first place, where the Gītā in the second line of the stanza substantially repeats the expression in the first line viz.: सत्यग्रावैन्, Manu substitutes for it वर्ती. Now if our view of repetition of expressions† is correct, this is one ground for putting the Gītā before Manu. Secondly, the passage in the Gītā does not define the duration of a Yug. The natural construction, therefore, would be that a human Yug was intended. In Manu, however, in the stanza just preceding, the Yugs spoken of are divine Yugs, and they are referred to in the stanza under discuss-

\* P. 57. The Brahman, too, has to thank Mr. Thomson for finding "sops" and "lumps of sugar" for him in the Gītā, (p. 111.)

† See p. lxi *suprd.*

sion by the words न—words which, it is to be noted, are not in the Gita. Now as Mr. Muir points out, the theory that the duration of the Yuga stated in Manu and other works is reckoned not in human but in divine years, is a later refinement.\* It may therefore, be regarded as a not very violent assumption, that this difference between Manu and the Gita is an index of the chronological priority of the former over the latter. In corroboration of the results drawn from these arguments, we may also use a comparison of one other passage of Manu with a corresponding passage in the Gita. In Gita X. 25 we have the Jap described as the best of the different forms of "Yajua." A similar opinion is expressed in Manu II. 86, but the distinctions there stated with regard to this Jap may, I think, be fairly used, as further showing the priority of the Gita over Manu. There are a few other passages in Manu and the Gita which exhibit like coincidences. Some of them are noted in the Notes and Illustrations. But I think it perfectly safe to contend, upon the strength of the various arguments above set forth, that the Gita must have preceded the Dharmas'atra of Manu by a very considerable period of time.

"And now," to borrow the eloquent language of Professor Tyndall's splendid discourse before the British Association at Belfast, "and now the end is come. With more time, or greater strength and knowledge, what has been here said might have been better said, while worthy matters here omitted might have received fit expression. But there would have been no material deviation from the views here set forth." Those views may be thus concisely stated. Dr. Lorinser's theory is utterly untenable, firstly because it ■ based

---

\* Muir S. T. Vol. I. (2nd Ed.) 47 citing Prof. Roth.

on assumptions which have not been, and cannot be, proved. It is untenable secondly, because the coincidences upon which he relies are either really no coincidences at all, or are such as do not warrant the inference drawn from them. It is untenable thirdly, because even if it were otherwise unobjectionable, it would be quite incompetent to account for all the facts of the case. Lastly it is untenable, because it omits to take note of various circumstances which, as we have endeavoured to show above, completely negative it. We have shown that the internal evidence furnished by the Gita would lead to the conclusion that it was composed prior to the Christian Era. We have shown that the evidence available enables us to put it chronologically before Kālidās and before the author of the Manu Smṛiti. We have shown that we may even hold provisionally, that it is older than the rise of Buddhism. We further argue that the date which Dr. Lorinser takes from Professor Lassen would, if accepted, lead to ulterior conclusions which must make us fall back upon the position that that date must be rejected. And in considering this point it must never be forgotten, that due allowance of time must be made not merely for the ideas to be borrowed, but for their settling down into the accepted ideas of the Hindu people. A right appreciation of these circumstances will enable us, I think, to see that Dr. Lorinser's theory cannot be correct. I maintain, that the foregoing investigation has shown by negative criticism that the grounds advanced by Dr. Lorinser for his several propositions are quite untenable. And I go further. I claim also to have shown affirmatively, that the Gita belongs to a period when the "Christian influences" of which Dr. Lorinser speaks could not possibly have existed, and *a fortiori* could not have acted upon the Indian mind.

And now, I trust, I may allow myself here one general

remark, suggested not merely by Dr. Lorinser's essay, but by various writings of the most celebrated Sanskrit scholars of Europe. It appears to me that in these days, there has set in a powerful tendency in Europe to set down individual works and classes of works of our ancient Sanskrit Literature to as late a date as possible.\* One of the greatest of living European scholars, for instance, has written as follows :—" I should like to see a possibility by which we could explain the addition, not of the *Vālnkhilya* hymns only, but of other much more modern sounding hymns, at a later time than the period of the *Prātiśākhya*." And once more :—" I say again that I am not free from misgivings on the subject, and my critical conscience would be far better satisfied if we could ascribe the *Prātiśākhya*, and all it pre-supposes to a much later date."† Now this outspoken naïvete is not by any means very common. Nevertheless there can be little doubt, that the above deliverances of Prof. Max Müller put into words a feeling entertained, more or less vaguely, more or less consciously, by the vast majority of European scholars. Yet I submit with all respect, but with very great confidence, that they betray a frame of mind which is the reverse of scientific. Prof. Müller has a right to his "misgivings;" and not only has he a right to them, he is bound to express them whenever a proper opportunity arises. But what right, it may be asked with all deference to the learned Professor, what right has he to express or to feel "likings" and "satisfaction" regarding one explanation more than another? Would it not be more correct, would it not be more scientific, to cease craving and hankering after the "possibi-

\* Cf. Wilson's Essays &c. III. 182-3 and J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X. 82.

† Max Müller Translation of the Rigved. I. Introd. pp. xxxix., xl.

lity" of escaping from a position presented by a "stringency of argument" which is "frightening?" Would it not be more correct, would it not be more scientific, to loyally accept such a position, and endeavour to rectify the foregone conclusion with which it stands in irreconcilable conflict? It appears to me, I confess, that it is this reserve of "likings" and "satisfactions" and "foregone conclusions," lying in the back ground of most of the logical artillery which European scholars have brought to bear upon the chronology of our ancient Literature, it is this that is temporarily doing damage to its antiquity. Those foregone conclusions easily throw these scholars into the frame of mind, in which, to borrow the terse vigour of Chillingworth's language, "they dream what they desire and believe their own dreams." And it is against this frame of mind, and against the often "moist light" of European Sanskrit scholarship of which it is the source, that I feel bound to lodge my very humble but very emphatic protest on the present occasion.



## BHAGAVADGÎTÂ.

Dhritarâshtra. What did my party and the Pâpâs do,  
Oh Sanjaya ! when upon the Holy Field  
Of Kurukshetra, longing for the fight,  
They met together ?

Sanjaya. Seeing then the host  
Of Pânchâ's sons drawn up in battle array,  
The Prince Duryodhan to his teacher went,  
And thus began : " Look at this mighty host  
Of Pânchâ's sons, Preceptor ! well arrayed  
By thy talented pupil—Drupad's son.  
Here are brave men, and archers great, the peers  
Of Bhîm and Arjun—he of the great car\*  
Drupad, and Dhritîshkaketu, that brave king  
Of Kâs't, Kuntibhoj, and chief of meu—  
S'aibya—Virât, Subhadrâ's son, the sons  
Of Draupadi, Yudhâmanu the brave,  
The valiant Uttamaujas, Sâtyaki, †  
And Chekitan—all masters of great cars.  
Know, next, our own best men, chiefs of my host,  
Whom, best of Brâhmaus ! I shall name, that thou  
Mayst know—thyself, and Bhishma, and Karpa, and Krip

\* I have thus literally rendered the word दशारथ here and elsewhere. Its technical meaning is stated in a stanza cited by Mallinâth under Baghu IX. 1. एको दशसद्वलीण योष्मेषासु भवित्वाम् । शत-  
मात्रपरिणाम स महारथ रक्षते ।

† S'ridhar Svâmi states that the name शृगभूम which occurs in the original text stands for Sâtyaki.

Victor in battles, As'vatthāmā too,  
 Vikarṇa, and Saumadatti, heroes more  
 In numbers, who have for me laid down their lives,  
 Adepts at various weapons, all well skilled  
 In war. By Bhishma our host defended thus  
 Is numberless, while theirs guarded by Bhīm  
 Is but a small one. Therefore do ye all,  
 Standing in your positions as assigned,  
 Defend Bhishma only. Then to his delight,  
 Roaring aloud as with a lion's roar,  
 His grandaître, oldest of the Kauravas, blew.  
 His conch, heroic. Then were couches and drums  
 Cymbals and horns played on at once; their noise  
 Was great. Next seated in a mighty car  
 Drawn by white coursers, Kṛishṇa and Pāṇḍu's son  
 Their conchs celestial blew. The Lord of mirth\*  
 Blew the Gigantea,† while the Conqueror  
 Of wealth‡ blew the Theodotes, and Bhīm,  
 The doer of fearful deeds, his mighty couch  
 The Arundinen. Then too Kuntī's son  
 Yudhiṣṭhir blew his Triumphantrix—conch,

\* This is, of course, a very unsatisfactory rendering for वृद्धिकीर्ति, as it is not quite literal, and does not at once suggest the idea attached to it, वृद्धि being, according to Amar, synonymous with विषयेन्द्रिय. Under all the circumstances, however, I have thought it sufficiently correct to be adopted for its terseness and suitability to verse. Ma-dhusūdana Sarasvatī renders it by सर्वोन्द्रियप्रवर्तकत्वेनान्तर्यामी.

† This and the following names of the conchs are borrowed from Schlegel. They have been approved of by Prof. Wilson.

‡ Mr. Thomson renders पर्नश्चय by "Despiser of wealth." I have preferred to follow the literal sense which has the sanction of the commentators.

Nakul and Sahadev their conchs then blew—  
 Dulcisona and Gemmiflorea.  
 That first of archers—Kṛṣṇa—Satyaki  
 The unconquered one, and he of the great car  
 S'ikhaṇḍī, Drupad, Dranpadī's sons too,  
 And Dhṛishṭadyumna, Saubhadra of large arms,  
 Virāṭ, and all their several conchs then blew,  
 Oh king of the Earth ! That great noise rent the hearts  
 Of all thy party, causing to resound  
 Both Earth and Heaven. Seeing thy party then  
 For battle drawn, the clash of arms commenced,  
 Arjuna, whose chariot's standard is the Ape,  
 Oh king of the Earth ! in these words then addressed  
 The Lord of minds : “Oh undegraded one !  
 Between the two hosts let my chariot stand,  
 While I observe those who stand here to fight,  
 Whom, in the troubles of this field, I must  
 Do battle with. I would see those who are come  
 To fight, and do good to the wicked son  
 Of Dhṛitarāshṭra. — Offspring of Bharat ! ° then  
 Addressed by Arjuna thus, the Lord of minds,  
 Stopping that paragon of cars between  
 The hosts, and face to face with Bhishma and Drona  
 And all kings of the earth, said “Pṛithī's son !  
 See these assembled Kurus.” There he saw  
 Fathers, † grandfathers, and preceptors too,

\* This expression, or one of its equivalents, occurs several times in our poem. It refers to Bharat, the son of Dushyanta and Śukuntala, from whom the Pāṇavas and Kauravas were said to have descended, and after whom India was called Bhāratavarsha.

† The original is पितृः; fathers. It must be understood as including those in positions similar to that of a father, e. g. paternal uncles and so forth. So too of the rest.

Uncles, and brothers, sons and their sons, friends,  
 And others more in either host. He saw,  
 And seeing all those kinsmen, overcome  
 By pity, thus he spoke, dejected : " Krishna !  
 Seeing our own men thus come here to fight,  
 My limbs droop down ; my mouth is quite dried up ;  
 My body trembles ; my hair stand on end ;  
 The Gāndiv slides down from my hand ; my skin  
 Intensely burns : I cannot stand ; my mind  
 Whirls round ; Oh Keshav ! omens bad I see ;  
 Nor do I see in prospect good to come  
 By slaughtering in the fight my kin. Oh Krishna !  
 I want no kingdom, and no victory,  
 No comforts. What, Oh Govind ! shall we do  
 With kingdoms, and with pleasures, even with life ?  
 Even those for whom we wish for kingdoms, pleasures,  
 And comforts, stand for battle here, their lives  
 And wealth forsaking—teachers, fathers, sons,  
 Grandfathers, uncles, son's sons, relatives.  
 Oh slayer of Madhu ! I wish not to kill  
 These, even though they kill me, for the sake  
 Of rule over all the three worlds, much less then  
 For this earth. Killing Dhṛitarāshṭra's sons,  
 What pleasure, Oh Janārdan ! shall we feel ?  
 These felons\* killed, but sin shall fall to us.  
 Therefore, 'tis not becoming that we kill  
 Our own relations—Dhṛitarāshṭra's sons.  
 For how, Oh Mādhav ! shall we ever be  
 Happy by killing our own kinsmen ? Though

\* The original ■ भानवाधिनः which is thus interpreted अन्वाधिनः

With consciences\* by avarice defiled,  
 They do not see the evils that are caused  
 By the extinction of a family,  
 Nor see the sin in treachery to friends,  
 How should not we, Janardan ! who do see  
 These evils, turn off from such sinful acts ?  
 The eternal rites of families extinct  
 Are lost on that extinction ;† on that loss,  
 Impiety makes the family‡ its own .  
 And when impiety triumphs thus, Oh Krishna !  
 Then do the women of the family  
 Become corrupted ; and on their corruption,  
 Offspring of Vrishni ! comes mingling of castes.  
 That intermingling needs must send to Hell  
 The family and those that ruin it ;  
 For their ancestors, of their balls of food  
 And their libations then bereft, fall down. §  
 The eternal rites of families and castes  
 Are thus uprooted by such sins of men  
 Who ruin families, sins from which flow  
 Caste-interminglings. Oh Janardan ! those  
 By whom the rites of families are destroyed,||

\* Mr. Thomson renders 善: by 'reason.' I prefer 'conscience' in the present context.

† As there ■ no one to perform them, women not being authorized to do so—Ānandagiri.

‡ The remaining members of it—Ānandagiri.

§ To Hell, that is to say. The lines following are taken by Sri-dhar Svāmi as a résumé of what has gone before, and that seems the best way of construing this passage, which at its close is somewhat involved—perhaps, intentionally.

|| The commentators take this to mean "those whose rites" &c., which is not inadmissible, but I think the rendering in the text leads more directly ■ the sense here required.

Are ever doomed, — we have heard, to live  
 In Hell. Alas ! we are seeking to commit  
 A heinous sin, busying ourselves to kill  
 Our kinsmen, out of lust of the happiness  
 Of sovereignty. If Dhṛitarāshṭra's sons,  
 Weapon in hand, should kill me in this field,  
 Me weaponless, not making self-defence,  
 The better for me." Arjun saying so,  
 Forsaking bow and arrow in the field,  
 Grieved to the heart, sat down upon his car.

### Chapter II. ( Sanjaya )

**Sanjaya.** To him cast down, by pity thus overcome,  
 ( His eyes all turbid and suffused with tears )  
 These words spoke Madhu's slayer—" Oh Arjun ! whence  
 Has this taint caught thee in this fearful place\*—  
 This taint, unworthy of the wise, the source  
 Of infamy, excluding too from Heaven !  
 Be not effeminate, Oh Pṛithī's son !  
 It is not fit for thee, killer of foes !  
 Do cast off this mean want of heart ! Arise !  
**Arjun.** Oh slayer of Madhu ! how shall I fight Bhishma  
 And Dron, with arrows in the battle-field,  
 Oh slayer of foes ! both venerable men ?  
 Not killing glorious elders, in this world  
 'Twould even be better on begged food to live ;  
 But killing them, desirous though of wealth,  
 Blood-tainted pleasures I shall here enjoy.

---

\* Mr. Thomson's rendering of this is not satisfactory to my mind.  
 I follow the commentators who are supported by the passages cited  
 in our note ■ Stanza 97 of the Nitis'atka (Bombay Series ■ Sanskrit  
 Classics).

Which too is better for us we know not<sup>a</sup>—

That we should overthrow them or they us.

Against us stand even Dhritarashtra's sons,

Whom killing, we do not desire to live.

My mind about my duty quite confused,

“ My heart, too, by the taint of helplessness†

Tarnished, I ask, tell me with certainty,

What's better—thy disciple I—teach me

Who have on thy indulgence cast myself.

Having obtained a prosperous kingdom here

On earth, without a foe, or even the rule

Of Heavenly beings, I see not what will

Dispel the grief my body will dry up.”

The Lord of sleep,‡ destroyer of his foes,

Having so spoken to the Lord of minds,

Sat down in silence, saying then to Krishna,

“ I will not fight.” To him, between the hosts

Disheartened thus, offspring of Bharat! then

The Lord of minds spoke with a little smile.

“ Thou grievedst for those for whom no grief should be,

And talkst the words of wisdom; learned men

Lament not for the living nor the dead.

Never did I not exist, nor thou, nor these

Rulers of men, nor shall we ever cease

To be hereafter. To the embodied soul,§

\* Madhusudan understands the two alternatives to be “ living on begged food” and fighting; and Anandagiri agrees with Madhusudan. Sridhar takes the alternatives to be those stated in the next line, and this construction I prefer.

† Mr. Thomson's rendering here again is not satisfactory to me. I follow Anandagiri. Madhusudan understands कर्तव्य to mean अनास्तित्व.

‡ Thus the commentators interpret the name गुरुकृष्ण which is applied to Arjun in the original.

§ I have thus rendered the word देह, which means literally “ [the soul] which has [i. e. animates] a body.”

As in this body infancy, and youth,  
 And old age, so the acquisition too  
 Of other bodies; a discerning man  
 Is not deceived by that. Oh Kunti's son !  
 The contacts of the senses\* causing cold,  
 Heat, pain, and pleasure, do not long endure;  
 They come and go. Bear them, Oh Bharat's child !  
 That wise man, Prince of men ! whom these harm not,  
 He to whom pain and pleasure are alike,  
 That man doth merit immortality.  
 Existence that which is unreal has none ;  
 That which is real is never non-existent ;  
 Those see the settled truth about them both  
 Who see the essence real. † That which pervades  
 All things, know thou, beyond destruction lies,

\* The commentators, including Śāṅkar, interpret मात्रा by 'senses.' Mr. Thomson renders it by elements, I know not on what authority. Compare Chap. V. St. 22.

† The unreal, — remarked by the commentators, refers to the heat, cold &c. mentioned in the preceding verses. The real is the soul. The former are really non-existent as they 'come and go'; and only that which is in all time—that which is विकलापात्म—really exists. The soul is such; and it cannot be destroyed. The word विद्युत् has much exercised the European translators. Mr. Thomson renders it by end, which he next interprets as equivalent to object. This is scarcely correct. I agree with the commentators. The expressions विद्युत् न and विद्युत् न न may be compared. The meaning of the whole passage is this. Here are two things, the soul, which is indestructible, the feelings of pain &c., which are temporary. The true philosopher knows which of these is the really existent and which the reverse. He knows that soul alone exists, the others being the effects of delusion. The latter therefore ought not to be minded.

None can destroy it, inexhaustible.  
 These bodies of the embodied soul eterne,  
 The indestructible and boundless one,  
 Are said \* to be not lasting; therefore fight.  
 Offspring of Bharat! He who thinks this soul  
 The killer, and he too who thinks it killed,  
 Both these know naught; it kills not, is not killed. †  
 It is not born, it never dies, and never,  
 Having not been, is it to be again;  
 Changeless, eterne, primeval, and unborn, ‡  
 It is not killed although the body be.  
 How can the man, Oh Pṛithū's son! who knows  
 The soul to be unchanging and unborn,  
 Beyond destruction, inexhaustible,  
 How and whom can he kill or get destroyed?  
 As casting off old clothes, a person takes  
 Others and new ones, so the embodied soul  
 Casts off old bodies, goes to others new.  
 Nor weapons cut it, nor does fire burn,  
 Waters don't wet it, nor air dry it up;  
 Impervious, and incombustible,  
 Not to be wetted, nor to be dried up,  
 Changeless, and all-pervading, § stable, firm  
 Eternal 'tis. It has been said to be

\* By those possessed of true discrimination—S'ankar.

† The original of this may be seen also in the Kaṭhapanishad II. 19.

‡ *Ibid* II. 18. The epithets used here are not quite easy to distinguish. The commentators differ among themselves. S'ankar in one place renders नित्य by विष्वरित्यामरहितः; in another he says यस्मात् वैत्यते

§ Mr. Thomson renders this by ‘capable of going everywhere.’ This is scarcely an accurate rendering of सर्वगतः.

Invisible, incapable of change,  
 Unthinkable, and therefore knowing it  
 To be such, 'tis not fit that shouldst thus  
 Lament it. But if thou dost think the soul  
 Always now born now dead, Oh large-armed one !  
 Still shouldst thou not lament it ; for to one  
 That's born, death's certain, and to one that's dead,  
 Birth ; hence for things that one cannot avoid  
 Thou shouldst not grieve. Offspring of Bharat ! things \*  
 Have sources unperceived, mid-states perceived,  
 Ends unperceived. What's there for grief in them ?  
 One sees the soul with wonder ; so one spends  
 Of it with wonder ; and with wonder hears  
 Another ; having heard none knows it still. †  
 Offspring of Bharat ! the embodied soul  
 Is ever within the body of every one,  
 All indestructible, hence 'tis not fit  
 For thee to grieve for any living thing ‡  
 Seeing thy duty too, thou shouldst not thus  
 Falter, for to a Kshatriya nothing else  
 Is better than a righteous fight, Oh Partha !  
 Happy indeed the warriors who thus  
 Find battle as an opened door to Heaven §

\* Sridhar Svami renders भूताने by शरीराणि. Sankar explains it by तुम्हिमन्तरिक्षाद्यकारणसंशान्यकान्, and Madhusudan by ग्रन्थादिभूतमया-ने शरीराणि. Sridhar Svami also takes भूतक् in the Sankhya sense to mean प्रभाव.

† Compare Kathopanishad II. 7.

‡ The original here is again भूताने. Sankar renders ■ by मौष्मा-दीने and Madhusudan by स्युताने सूभ्याने च मौष्मादिभावाप्नानि.

§ Compare Bhartihari's Nitisataka Misc. St. 2 and note on it (Bomb. Sans. Class. Ed.).

Come of itself! But if thou wilt not fight  
 This righteous battle, thou wilt come by sin,  
 Abandoning thy duty and thy fame.  
 Of thy everlasting infamy will tell  
 All beings too, and infamy to one  
 Who has been honoured is far worse than death.  
 Masters of great cars will think that through fear  
 Thou from the fight desistedst. Thou wilt then fall,  
 Having by them been highly thought of once,  
 To littleness.\* Thy enemies will talk  
 Much talk unspeakable, and will cry down  
 Thy power—than that more galling what can be?  
 Killed thou wilt Heaven obtain, and conquering  
 Thou wilt the earth enjoy. Therefore, arise,  
 Oh Kunti's son! resolved upon the fight!  
 Looking alike on victory and defeat,  
 On gain and loss, on pleasure and on pain,  
 Be ready for the fight—so thou wilt not sin.  
 This doctrine told you is that of the Sankhya,  
 That of the Yog now hear; † and knowing this,  
 Arjun! from action's ties thou wilt be freed.  
 No disappointment here in what's commenced,  
 No obstacles exist; from dangers great  
 A little of this piety protects.

\* The construction of the original here is not quite clear. Madhusudan says वेष्मित्... सं यजुमनोऽत इति तीव्रादरथः भूषानुगरते यंस्यन्ते इत्यन्यः; अतो भूत्वा युद्धाक्षरत इति श्रोतुः लापयन्... मास्यसि... सर्वेषामिनि द्येयः। वेष्मित् तं प्रायद्युमतोभूत्वेष्येत ततु ज्ञात्वा भूत्वा लापयन् यास्यसाति त || S'ankar's and S'riddhar's interpretations may be seen in their works.

† The commentators interpret दार्श to mean व्याप्तित्व, व्याप्तिरप्युक्त, and the like. This is not a satisfactory meaning. See infra Chapt. V. St. 4; (lines 650 of seq.) See too our Introductory Essay.

There's here, Oh Kaurav ! but one state of mind,  
 Which in a resolution fixed consists.<sup>\*</sup>  
 Endless are those of the inconstant ones,  
 And many-branched. No resolution fixed  
 On contemplation can they have whose minds,  
 They being attached to pleasures and to power,  
 Are led off by that talk which inculcates  
 Specific acts for pleasures and for power,  
 Which promises the fruit of actions done  
 In former lives—the flowery talk, Oh Partha!  
 Which those unwise ones utter who are charmed  
 By Vedic words, and say there's nothing else,  
 Those who are full of wishes, and whose goal  
 Is Heaven. † The Veds do merely concern  
 The effects of the three qualities ; ‡ but thou

\* Sankar says यैवं साम्लये बुद्धिसक्ता योगी च वैयमाणलक्षणा सा—thus embracing both Sankhya and Yog in the passage. Sridhar says इह द्विभारताधनलक्षणे कर्मयोगे व्यवसायामेका परमेश्वरमन्तरे युवं नरिष्यामिति निष्पत्यामिका. Madhusudan says, इह ऐपोयागे (so says Sankar too) नमेतमिति वाच्ये ए। See the Notes and Illustrations at the end of this book.

† The effect of adhering resolutely to contemplation is stated in St. 63. The different interpretations of सम्प्रदि given by Madhusudan may be seen in the Notes and Illustrations. 'Flowery' (गुप्तिष्ठ) Sridhar interprets by भाग्यात्मी रमणीय which means pleasant only at first sight—on a superficial view—not "pleasant until it falls," as Mr. Thomson erroneously translates it. On 'Vedic words' Sridhar says एवं ये वादा अर्थाताः. In this the other commentators concur. Heaven ■ not the highest good being a merely temporary affair, see Chap. VIII. St. 16 and Chap. IX. St. 21 and comp. Bhartihari Vairigya-Sataka St. 3 and note on it (Bomb. Sans. Class.) and also the Vedic text तद्यथेऽरुभीतिनो लोकः भूयते एवेताम् गुणविनी लोकः भूयते. ‡ वैगुण्य—संसार. Sankar and Madhusudan. Sridhar वैगुण्यामकाः

Must be self-ruled, Oh Arjun ! free from them  
 And from the pairs of opposites,<sup>\*</sup> and rest  
 Always in courage,<sup>†</sup> from solicitude  
 For acquisition and protection free.<sup>‡</sup>  
 In all the Veds, a learned Brâhman finds  
 As much good as is in a reservoir  
 Of water, where from all sides waters flow.<sup>§</sup>  
 With action is thy sole concern, with fruit  
 Never ~~■~~ all. Let not thy motive be  
 The fruit of action. To inaction, too,  
 Have no attachment, Conqueror of wealth !  
 Actions perform, but on devotion resting,  
 Casting away attachment, on success  
 And failure equable ; equality

सकामा येथिकारिणस्तदृष्टयः, निसैगुण्य they all interpret by मिश्राम. On the three Gunas see Notes and Illustrations.

\* Heat and cold, pain and pleasure, and so forth, which are so often alluded to in the Gith.

† So the commentators except S'ankar who understands by सत्य here the ~~quality~~ of that name. He is consistent as निसैगुण्य is with him only निष्काम. But I prefer to render सत्य by ज्ञेय, as the other commentators do, that being one of the ordinary meanings of the word. I prefer this to Mr. Thomson's meaning also, viz. "eternal truth," as ~~■~~ better suits the context.

‡ योगदेव. I adopt the interpretation of the commentators which coincides with the ordinary sense of the expression. Mr. Thomson's rendering agrees in substance, but the sense from which he directly derives ~~■~~ appears to me to be itself probably derived from the one adopted in the text. And see too Mitîkshâra on Yâjavalkya I. 100 where योग ~~■~~ explained to mean acquisition of what one has not ; and केष preservation of what has been acquired.

§ See Notes and Illustrations.

Is called devotion. Action lower far  
 Than acquisition of devotion\* stands.  
 In that devotion, Conqueror of wealth !  
 Seek shelter. Miserable are those to whom  
 Fruit serves as motive. He who has attained  
 Devotion, casts off here both merit and sin.†  
 Therefore work at devotion. That in acts  
 Is wisdom.‡ Those wise men who have acquired  
 Devotion, casting off the fruit of acts,  
 And from the shackles of repeated births  
 Released completely, to that seat repair  
 Where no unhappiness is. When once thy mind  
 Has crossed beyond the taint of ignorance,  
 Then mayst thou be indifferent to all

\* This is my rendering of यज्ञयोग्. यज्ञः S'ankar and Sridhar take to mean सम्बन्धयज्ञः, which may be rendered by 'devotion' as योग् is. Sridhar indeed also proposes another interpretation which Madhusûdana accepts, viz. यज्ञः (or आयम्यज्ञः as Madhusûdana has it) साधनशूली यः (scil. दर्शयीयः). But if we accept this meaning of यज्ञः here, we ought I think to accept the same meaning in the next line यज्ञी वारणमन्त्रेण ; and then there is not a proper contrast between that line and the last line of the Stanza—a contrast which is nevertheless obviously intended. I would therefore adhere to S'ankar's rendering, and as to योग् I would take it as the substantive corresponding with the adjectival form यज्ञः in यज्ञयोग्. I think this makes the passage clear enough.

† Merit has for its fruit Heaven, which, as we have seen, is regarded as not much of a gain. Comp. also S'âriraka Bhâshya (Bibl. Ind. Ed.) pp. 899, 1080 and elsewhere.

‡ I. e. wisdom consists in indifference to failure or success in whatever one does. Mr. Thomson's translation is not, I think, correct.

That thou hast heard or wilt hear. When thy mind,  
Confused by what thou hast heard,\* will stand firm,  
In contemplation steady, then wilt thou  
Acquire devotion.

**Arjun.** What, Oh Kes'av ! are  
The marks of one whose mind is firm, and who  
In contemplation is assiduous ?  
How does one speak who ■ of steady mind,  
How sit, how move ?

**Krishna,** When one, Oh Prithi's son !  
Abandons all the wishes of one's heart,  
Pleased in and by oneself, then is one called  
A steady-minded person. One whose heart  
Is not dejected in calamity,  
And who in comforts feels no joy, from whom  
Affection fear and wrath have fled, is called  
A steady-minded sage. One who without  
Attachments anywhere, feels no delight  
And no aversion at the various sweets  
And bitters† coming has a steady mind.  
When as the tortoise draws in all his limbs  
From all sides, he off from their objects draws  
His senses, then is his a steady mind.  
Objects of sense recede, not so the taste  
For them, from one who lives in abstinence,  
And even the taste recedes when the Supreme  
Has once been seen.‡ The senses, Kunti's son !

\* About the means for the acquisition of desirable things—  
Sankar.

† The original वृत्तान्तः is rendered by अनुदूषणनेतृज् by Sridhar  
and सुक्षेत्र and दुःखेत्र by Madhusudan.

interpretation doubtless makes the construction a very

Boisterous, distract the minds even of the wise  
 Who try to make a stand, by force. All these  
 Having restrained, one should devote oneself  
 To me alone ; for steady is his mind  
 Who has his senses under his control.

He who over sensuous objects ponders still  
 Forms an attachment to them ; from this flows  
 Desire ; and from desire wrath ; from that wrath  
 Want of discernment ; and from this want flows  
 Confusion of the memory ; and thence  
 Flows demency ; and from this utter ruin.<sup>\*</sup>  
 But he who, with his heart in his control,  
 Senses restrained and from affections free  
 As well as from aversions, does perceive  
 Their objects, he tranquillity obtains.  
 When there's tranquillity, his miseries  
 Are all destroyed ; for he whose mind's at peace  
 Is soon possessed of steadiness. Whoe'er  
 Has no devotion<sup>†</sup> has no steadiness

irregular one. But the meaning is certainly that given in the  
 on the authority of the commentators. Mr. Thomson's rendering is  
 not satisfactory to my mind.

\* The first two stages are easily understood. From desire grows  
 wrath when the desire is banished of its object. From wrath follows  
 the state of mind in which one cannot discern right and wrong ; from  
 that a forgetfulness of what has been learnt before—शास्त्रचायो।  
 देव्याहितसरस्कार says Sankar. The rest is again clear enough.

† The original word here is अपूर्ण which the commentators render,  
 I think correctly, by 'one who does not restrain himself.' I have  
 rendered पूर्ण in the original by 'steadiness' here. The commentators  
 explain ■ by अप्तसरस्कपैषय. Substantially, there ■ not much  
 difference, for steadiness means steadiness in contemplation of the

And no self-knowledge.\* But no peace of mind  
Is his, who has no knowledge of himself;

And whence can one bereft of peace of mind  
Find happiness? The obedience of one's mind  
Unto the rambling senses takes away

One's judgment, as the wind carries a boat  
Astray upon the waters. Therefore he,  
Oh large-armed one! whose senses are restrained,  
And from their objects are on every side  
Withheld, possesses steadiness of mind.

The man of self-restraint remains awake,  
When for all creatures it is night; and when

All creatures are awake, that is the night  
Of the right-seeing sage.† He into whom  
All things of sense enter as waters do

The ocean, which still filled still keeps its bounds  
Unmoved, obtains tranquillity; not he

Who wishes for those things of sense. That man  
Who all desires abandons, and remains

Free from affections and from "I" and "mine,"‡

---

true nature of the soul. My interpretation ■ based on a reference  
to the previous Stanza

\* More accurately, according to the commentators, perseverance  
in the work of knowing oneself. The text, however, is, I think,  
practically right, and मधुसूदनः Madhusūdana reads by भास्मज्ञान-  
मरुर्जितः.

† As ■ spiritual pursuits, the run of men can see nothing there,  
the whole thing is as dark as night to them; while in worldly  
pursuits they are ever wide awake. With the sage the case stands  
exactly the other way.

‡ निरवंकार, the second word means indifferent to his possessions and  
things. The first निरवंकार means either free from egotism, or better,  
from a mistaken notion of what is the ego; see Chap. III. St. 27.

Obtains tranquillity. Oh Prithâ's son !  
 This is the state divine;\* at this arrived,  
 One's not deceived, and being in this state  
 In one's last moments too, one does attain  
 Assimilation with the Deity.

---

### Chapter III.

**Arjun.** Janardan ! if devotion is by thee  
 To action far superior esteemed,  
 Then why, Oh Kes'av ! dost thou still direct  
 Me to this fearful deed ? My mind by words  
 Ambiguous thou seemest to confound ;  
 Do tell me now one thing and certain, whence  
 I may attain salvation

**Krishna.** Sinless one !  
 I have already said, that in this world  
 There is a two-fold path†—that of the Sâṅkhyâ—  
 Pursuit of knowledge, and that of the Yôg—  
 Pursuit of action. One does not attain  
 Freedom from action, ceasing to perform  
 Acts merely, nor does one perfection reach  
 By mere renunciation.‡ For no one

---

\* नद्यरूपेणात्मव्याप्तम् says S'ankar.

† निष्ठा S'ankar renders by स्थिति, S'rîdhara by मोक्षप्रदा. The word  
 in the text would seem to suit both renderings well enough. S'ankar takes गु 'already' to mean 'at the beginning of the creation.'  
 S'rîdhara and Madhusûdana take it to mean in the last chapter which seems preferable.

‡ निष्कर्म्य, which we have translated by freedom from action, S'rî-  
 dhara renders by ज्ञान 'knowledge,' and S'ankar says निष्कर्म्यत्वसंकृ-  
 पण्डितव्याप्तमिति यावत्. Renunciation is what is technically called संन्यâस,  
 which without ज्ञान or knowledge is ineffectual. According to

Even for a moment ever does remain,  
 But does perform some act ; the qualities  
 Born of his nature\* force him (of himself  
 Not master) to some work. He who restrains  
 His active senses, yet thinks in his mind,  
 Maddened, of sensuous objects, he is called  
 A hypocrite. But he, Oh Arjun ! who,  
 Having restrained the senses by the mind,†  
 Without attachment action still pursues  
 With the active senses, is superior far.‡  
 Action prescribed perform, for action is  
 Superior ■ inaction ; nor by this  
 Canst thou obtain subsistence for thyself.  
 This world is fettered by all acts but those  
 Spiritual.§ In these, Oh Kunti's son !  
 Do thou engage, attachment casting off.  
 Having made men, first, with the sacrifice,  
 Said the creator " Propagate with this ;

S'ankar दृष्टि or action is necessary as a stepping-stone to निष्ठापत्ति or freedom from action.

\* The three qualities together constitute the प्रकृति or nature. As to the power of this प्रकृति here stated, compare Chap. XVIII. 59-60.

† I. e. concentrating them on God, says S'ridhar.

‡ I. e. to the hypocrite says S'ankar. S'ridhar takes it to mean, " He attains knowledge by means of purity of mind."||

§ वृद्धि. The commentators interpret this expression by the light of a Vedic text वृद्धि वृद्धिः. Mr. Thomson renders ■ by " which has worship for its object." The वृद्धि spoken of here appears to me to be that which is spoken of in the next Stanza. The creator having created men and the sacrifice said that men should perform sacrifice. Nothing that ■ done in pursuance of this direction is an obstacle in the way of salvation.

And may this be the giver of your desires.  
 Please<sup>o</sup> you the gods with this, and may those gods  
 Please you; each other pleasing, you will obtain  
 The highest happiness. The gods will give,  
 Pleased with your rites, the enjoyments you desire;  
 And he's a thief who, not returning them  
 What they have given, enjoys himself." The good  
 Who eat the leavings of a sacrifice  
 Of all sins are absolved. The sinful ones,  
 However, who for themselves alone prepare  
 Their food, are caught by sin. From food are born  
 Creatures; from rain too is the birth of food;  
 Rain is produced by sacrifice; and this  
 Is the result of action; action, know,  
 Has its source in the Veds; the source of these  
 Is the Indestructible.† Therefore the Veda,

प्रत्येकः says Madhusūdana. As among the Greeks, the offerings at the sacrifice were supposed by the Hindus to be what the gods fed on. Compare Kumār. II. 46 or Mādhyav's S'ankarvijaya I. 34.

† I have followed the commentators here. Mr. Thomson says that वेद means Ved "in later Sanskrit but never in our poem." But the result of not accepting that sense here is that ब्रह्माभरसमुद्गम् is interpreted by Mr. Thomson to mean "The Supreme spirit is co-existent with the indivisible." I know of no authority for taking समुद्गम् to mean co-existent. Besides, in the Fifteenth Chapter to which Mr. Thomson refers, the word वेद, as he says himself, does not occur, but instead of वेद we have परमात्मा. Again when Mr. Thomson says that वेद has not the meaning of Ved in our poem, though he admits that it has that meaning in what he calls later Sanskrit, I do not know what ground there is for saying so. True वेद is, that no other use of it in this sense occurs in the book. But no more do we see any other

Pervading all, are at the sacrifice,<sup>\*</sup>  
 At all times. Whoso canes not to revolve  
 This wheel thus turned, he is of sinful life,  
 His senses humouring, and all in vain  
 He lives, Oh Pṛithu's son ! But† then the man,  
 Self-satisfied, who with himself alone  
 And in himself is pleased, has nought to do.  
 He has no interest in what is done,  
 Nor in what is not done,‡ nor yet does he  
 Depend on any creature for his wants.  
 Therefore § without attachment ever perform  
 Thy duty, for the man who acts performs  
 Without attachment, reaches the Supreme. ||  
 By acts alone did Janak and the rest

example of the sense in which the same word जद्य is used at the beginning of Chapter XIV.

\* S'ankar says "Although they are all-pervading as elucidating all matters, they are always at the sacrifice, as the rites of sacrifice are their main subject." S'ridhar takes सर्वगतं जद्य as different from the जद्य in the line preceding, and equivalent ■ धक्षर, and then says यसे प्रतिकृतं यज्ञीनोगायभूतेन प्राप्ते . . . रथमस्था सदा लभ्यते रितित्. He also gives another meaning भव्यापैतैः; सर्वेषु भूतापौस्त्वावाविषु गतं रित्या-मात्रं देवाणां जद्य स्तैरा यसे तात्पर्येण प्रतिहितवतो यज्ञादि कर्म इति चापि स्थर्यः. In this Madhusūdana concurs, and it is practically the same as S'ankar's explanation.

† Here, according to S'ridhar, he states that the man of knowledge has nothing to do with कर्म or action.

‡ No good or evil accrues to him from anything he does or omits ■ do—S'ankar.

§ Arjun, says S'ridhar, is told to perform action, as freedom from ■ ■ only for the man of knowledge. To that stage, it is implied, Arjun has not risen.

|| By means of purity of mind, say the commentators.

Attain perfection. Thou too shouldest perform  
 Acts, looking to the universal good.  
 Whatever a great man does, that do the rest,  
 And men at large follow what he respects  
 As of authority. I, Prithâ's son !  
 Have nought to do in any of these three worlds,  
 Nothing to gain that I have not gained ; still  
 I do engage in action. Should I not  
 Engage assiduous in action, then  
 From all sides men would follow in my path,  
 Oh Prithâ's son ! And should I not perform  
 Acts, ruined then these worlds would be, \* and I  
 Of caste-comminglings should the author be,  
 And should destroy all people. As the unwise,  
 Offspring of Bharat ! with attachment act,  
 So should the wise, desiring to advance  
 The general good, without attachment act.  
 A wise man, actions with devotion doing,  
 Should not distract† the ignorant, attached  
 To action, but should set them to it. One,  
 By egoism demented, thinks oneself  
 The doer of those acts which are performed  
 Throughout by nature's qualities.‡ But he,  
 Oh large-armed one ! who knows the truth about

\* As the rules of action, by which the world is carried on, would be broken—जो करियन्ति निमित्तस्य कर्मणोभावान् says S'ankar. धर्मलोकेन न हृषेयः says S'Ridhar.

† Literally = shake their convictions" i. e. wean them away from the path of action.

‡ Compare Chapter V. St. 8. 9. The active principle is nature, or प्रकृति. The soul or पुरुष is only the looker-on and the enjoyer.

The difference from qualities and acts, \*  
 Forms no attachments, thinks that qualities  
 Do deal with qualities.† But then those who  
 By nature's qualities are all confused,  
 To their works‡ from attachments. Such dull men,  
 Who know not all, the wise should not distract.  
 Devoid of hope, devoid of "mine", on me  
 Throwing all acts,§ the Adhyatma pondering,||  
 Fight, freed from mental anguish. Even those men  
 Who act on this opinion of mine,  
 Always with faith, not carping, they are freed  
 From action. Know, however, that those who carp  
 At my opinion, and do not act  
 Upon it, are demented, and confused  
 In knowledge of all kinds, to all good lost.  
 After his nature¶ even a wise man acts;  
 All creatures follow it, what can restraint

\* The difference of soul from the qualities, and its difference from acts. The words refer to him who believes that he is different from the collection of the qualities, and who believes that he is not the active principle—नाहि गुणात्मकः न मे कर्त्त्वेण says S'ridhar.

† I. e. Qualities (senses) deal with qualities (objects of sense). So the commentators. Mr. Thomson understands it differently.

‡ The workings of the qualities, namely, what are commonly known as man's actions.

§ I. e. Convinced by means of true discrimination that you are doing all for God.

|| अप्यात्मचेतसा is explained by S'ankar as equivalent to विकृतम्-  
 जहा; by S'ridhar and Madhusūdana as equivalent to अन्तर्गम्यपोनीहं  
 कर्त्ता इति दृष्ट्वा. It means remembering the real relation of the individual and Supreme Soul.

¶ This is explained to be the वृक्षनभौवर्यविसंस्कारो वर्तमानजन्मा  
 दावभिप्यः—(S'ankar)—the effect of the virtuous and vicious acts  
 done in a previous birth.

Effect? Towards its objects every sense  
 Has its affections and aversions fixed,  
 To them none should submit, for they are his foes.\*  
 One's duty ill-performed is better far  
 Than that of others well performed; † even death  
 In one's own duty is to be preferred.  
 Fearful is that of others.

**Arjun:** But by whom

■ man driven on to sin against his will,  
 Offspring of Vrishni! as by force compelled?

**Krishna.** Desire it is, 'tis wrath, whose birth is from  
 The quality of Rajas—ravenous he,  
 And very sinful. Know that in this world  
 That is the foe. As smoke envelopes fire,  
 As soot does a mirror, as the womb  
 The foetus, all this he envelopes so.  
 Knowledge's enveloped by this constant foe,  
 Oh Kunti's son! of wise men, who can take  
 What forms he will, who's like a fire,§ and who

\* This, says S'ankar, is in answer to the difficulty that the S'astras are useless if nature is so potent as described. The answer is, that nature can only work indirectly by means of these affections and aversions, and if one withstands their force, one is then at liberty to follow the S'astras. When they are succumbed to, the force of nature irresistible.

† This, according to S'ankar, is in answer to one who acts under the guidance of "affections and aversions," and who might say, that since all duties are equally prescribed in the S'astras he might do whichever he chose.

‡ Explained, according to S'ankar and the other commentators, by what follows. They understand it to refer ■ knowledge. Mr. Thomson understands by 'this' the universe.

§ The commentators take अन्ते literally, as "that which never has enough."

Is never filled. The senses, and the mind,  
 And steady resolution, have been said  
 To be his seat.\* With these, he men confounds,  
 Covering up knowledge. Therefore first restrain  
 Thy senses, foremost of the Bharats! next  
 This sinful thing do cast off, which destroys  
 Experience and knowledge.† It is said,  
 "Great are the senses, greater is the mind,  
 Greater than that is resolution, that  
 Which is above this is that same."‡ Thus know  
 That which than resolution higher is,  
 And by thyself restrain thyself, and kill  
 This foe, Oh large-armed one! who can assume  
 What form he will, and who is hard to tame.

\* Since the operations of the senses and the rest give rise to desire. The mind ■ the faculty which thinks, and doubts, and so forth: the ' steady resolution ' is the faculty which resolves and finally determines. कर्तव्यादिकार्यकृतः | निष्पादिका वृद्धः.

† Knowledge is that learnt from books or teachers. Experience is that which is acquired by personal perception and so forth.

‡ This Stanza is evidently taken from that in the Kathopanishad III. 10. There we have no reference to desire, and this is one of the circumstances which lead me to accept the meaning which the commentators put on इः, namely इच्छा, in preference to that of Mr. Thomson, namely 'this passion of desire.' According to the meaning of the commentators, Krishna tells Arjun to understand the Supreme Soul who is higher than the principles in which desire is seated, and then with that knowledge to destroy the foe by means of self-restraint.

## Chapter IV.

**Krishna.** This lasting system of devotion, I  
Told to the Sun, to Manu he declared,  
And Manu to Ikshvâku. Thus by steps  
Obtained, this system royal sages knew;  
That system, slayer of foes! has now been lost  
By lapse of time. I have to-day told thee  
That same primeval system, since thou art  
My devotee and friend, for 'tis the best  
Of mysteries.

**Arjun.** Later is thy birth, the Sun's  
Is prior. How then shall I understand,  
That thou didst first tell him?

**Krishna.** Many have been  
Our births, Oh Arjun! thine as well as mine.  
I know them all. Not so, Oh slayer of foes!  
Knowst thou. Unborn, and inexhaustible,  
Lord of all creatures, as I am, I am born  
By my delusion, taking the control  
Of Nature to myself.\* I do create  
Myself, whenever piety languishes,  
And when impiety's rampant. I am born  
In every age the sinful to destroy,  
To establish piety, to protect the good.  
My birth and work divine whoever thus knows

\* A certain distinction is here drawn between प्रकृति and माया. The Svetâśvataraopanishad, however, has a line which runs thus, माया तु प्रकृते विद्यन्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम्. But here, माया means more specially the divine power, knowledge, omnipotence and so forth; प्रकृति refers to the material which goes to the formation of the body taken by the Deity when "born."

Rightly, Oh Arjun ! casts this body off,  
 Returns not to be born, but comes to me.  
 Freed from affection, terror, and from wrath,  
 By knowledge-penance\* made immaculate,  
 Thinking of me alone, and on me resting,  
 Many have come into my essence. † I  
 Favour men as they come to me ; my path  
 Men follow from all sides, ‡ Oh Pṛīthī's son !  
 Success in acts desiring, people here  
 Worship the deities, for in this world  
 Of mortals, swiftly is success obtained  
 By action. § I created classes four,  
 After the apportionment of qualities  
 And works. || But though I am their maker, know  
 I am not their maker, ¶ inexhaustible.  
 Actions defile me not, I have no desire  
 Of fruit of actions . He who knows me so  
 Is not tied down by action.|| Knowing this,||

\* ज्ञानमेव ततः सर्वदर्शकस्येतुलाभ् says Madhusūdana. Sridhar takes it to mean knowledge and penance.

† That is, attained salvation, the assimilation with the Brahma.

‡ This line occurs before but in a different sense. See line 439.

§ Sridhar says न तु द्वामकरं कैवल्यं दुष्कार्यसाक्षात्मनः.

¶ See Chapter XVIII. where this is explained — length.

|| मायातंश्चक्षारेण कर्ता परमार्थेर्वते says Śāṅkar. The explanation of the paradox seems to be contained in the next Stanza.

§ Since, as Sridhar says, he who knows that the cause of God's not being affected by acts is his freedom from egoism and desire, will himself get rid of his own egoism &c.

¶ Śāṅkar says that this means नाहै कर्ता न है कर्मकरे शूद्रोते द्वास्ता— which is unexceptionable ; अहंकारादिराहित्येन कृनं कर्म एव्यक्तं न भवतीयेदं द्वास्ता says Sridhar—which is less unexceptionable. Mr. Thomson

Those men of old who for salvation wished,  
 Action performed. Therefore do thou perform  
 Action\* alone, as by the men of old  
 Was done before thee. Even learned men,  
 Upon the question what is action, what  
 Inaction, are confused. Therefore I will speak  
 Of action to thee. Knowing that, thou wilt  
 Be freed from evil. Action one must know,  
 Action prohibited, inaction too,  
 Abstruse is action's essence.† He is wise  
 'mongst men, he is devoted, he performs  
 All acts, who in inaction action sees,  
 And in action inaction. Him the wise  
 Call learned, all whose action by the fire  
 Of knowledge is burnt down, whose every act  
 Is all from fancies and desires divorced.‡  
 Forsaking all attachment to the fruit  
 Of action, independent,§ at all times

takes the sense back as far as Stanza 13, casting a suspicion on the genuineness of Stanza 14. I do not think his reasons either sound or adequate.

\* Not an action, as Mr. Thomson translates it, but action generally, as contrasted with अकर्म. Comp. Chap. III. St. 20 (line 429).

† The commentators render गम्भीरं by दर्श, Mr. Thomson translates it by 'path' but gives no explanation. Action, as the commentators rightly say, stands here for all three. What the abstruseness is is stated in the immediately following lines.

‡ Fancies are the cause of desires—S'ankar. Compare Chap. II. 62 and VI. 4 and 24. S'rividhar says कामः फलं तसंकल्पेन दो. Madhusūdan agrees with S'ankar, but interprets संकल्प by अद्विरोधिति कर्ते. नाभिमानः.

§ Independent: lit. without support; support S'ankar explains to mean that thing, resting on which one wishes to accomplish an end.

Contented, even engaged in action, he  
 Does nothing. All belongings casting off,  
 Restraining mind and senses,\* free from hope,  
 And action merely for the body's sake†  
 Performing, he comes not by sin. Content  
 With earnings not sought after, far above  
 The pairs of opposites, from envy free,  
 Unmoved on failure and success, he's not  
 Tied down, performing actions. All the acts  
 Of one without attachment, wholly free,‡  
 Of one whose mind is fixed on knowledge, who  
 Performs spiritual actions,§ are destroyed.  
 Brahma is the oblation; with Brahma it is given;  
 Brahma is in the fire; and by Brahma it is thrown;  
 And Brahma too the goal, to which he goes,  
 Who meditates on Brahma in the act. ||

\* भूत्वा must here be rendered by 'senses'; Madhusūdana says युक्तः.  
 निर्दयसदिती देहः.

† Madhusūdana takes शारीर to mean शरीरस्त्रियमात्रप्रयोगम्. He and S'ankar have a long discussion as to whether it does not mean शरीरभैरवं and decide against it. Sridhar, however, adopts this interpretation, which would seem to be preferable, having regard to the next Stanza. See also Chap. III. 7 and 8 (line 383 et seq.).

‡ S'ankar renders the original युक्त by निष्टुलधौरिदिव्यवृत्त, Sridhar says रागादेभ्युक्त, and Madhusūdana हा कृत्यनभोक्तुनाथभिमनवृत्य. Mr. Thomson's suggested emendation to युक्त is a very good one.

§ Comp. Chap. III. 9. Here S'ankar renders यात्र by यात्रनिर्वस्त्रयम्.

|| This identification of every thing with Brahma, furnishes according to S'ankar, the explanation of the 'destruction of acts' mentioned just before. 'With Brahma' means with the Juhu and other sacrificial implements. The last line is thus explained by Sridhar प्रस्त्राणेषु कर्मन्मके सप्ताधिक्तेषात्पं यस्य.

Some devotees the sacrifice divine \*  
 Practise, and others in the fire of Brahma  
 The sacrifice offer up by itself. †  
 The sense of hearing and the rest some throw  
 Upon the fires of self restraint. ‡ And some  
 Again upon the sense-fires offer up  
 Their objects—sound and others. Others still  
 Offer up the functions of the internal winds,  
 As well as of the senses, in the fire  
 Of self-restraint by knowledge kindled up. §  
 Others there are whose offering is wealth,  
 Penance, devotion,|| study of the Veds,  
 Or knowledge; others still of rigid vows—  
 The Yatis.¶ Some offer the upward wind  
 Into the downward, and the downward one  
 Into the upward, and restraining next  
 The motions of them both, are still engaged

---

\* I. e. that in which the Gods are sacrificed to.

† S'aukar takes यज् or sacrifice to mean यज्ञा. S'ridhar says यज्ञे-  
 ..... इदार्थित्वाद्युक्तप्रकारेण यज्ञम् यज्ञति यज्ञादर्थर्थमीलं परिक्लापनोपर्यः;  
 which is more satisfactory.

‡ I. e. practice restraint of the operations of the senses. These  
 according to S'ridhar, are नैहिका ग्रस्तारिणः. Those described in the  
 words immediately following are correctly said by him to be those  
 who are विषयमोगसम्पदेयवासकाः.

§ That is to say, says S'ridhar, concentrating the mind properly  
 on the thing to be meditated on, and confining the mind to it  
 they stop all the workings of the senses &c.

¶ This is here taken in the sense of Patanjali (not that of the Gita)  
 viz. चित्तशुचिनिरोध ‘concentration of mind.’

|| This is taken as a separate class by Madhusudan. He says,  
 व्रतयात् इत्यर्थः. And see line 862.

In stopping up the lifewinds.\* Others yet,  
 Eating but little, offer up the winds;  
 Into the winds.† Knowing the sacrifice,  
 All these have their sins by the sacrifice  
 Destroyed. Those go unto the eternal Brahma,  
 Who eat the leavings of the sacrifice,  
 Ambrosial.‡ Best of Kurus! not this world  
 Is theirs, who do no sacrifice perform;  
 Whence then the other? Thus out of the Veds,  
 Come sacrifices of these various sorts;§  
 From action|| know them all to be produced,  
 And knowing thus, thou wilt salvation reach.  
 The sacrifice of knowledge, slayer of foes!  
 Is better than the sacrifice of wealth;  
 For each and every action, Prithu's son!  
 In knowledge ends. By salutation that,  
 By service, and by questions, learn. The wise  
 Who see the truth will knowledge teach to you.  
 That learning, Pāṇḍu's son! thou wilt not be

\* These are the ascetic practices prescribed in the Yogasūtra; the operations are technically known as Pīrak, Rechak and Kumbhak.

† Śankar says दद्य दद्य तांत्रिकः किम् इतरान्तायुभेदात्मस्मृत्यनि ने तद् प्रविष्टा भवन्ति. Śridhar takes प्रविष्टा to mean 'sense.' With this Madhusūdana agrees and cites Patanjali.

‡ Compare Chap. III. St. 13 (line 407).

§ The commentators say, that this means "They are all ordained by the Veds," and Śankar quotes a passage as an instance. Mr. Thomson renders the words otherwise, but I do not know that there is much propriety in the sense he adopts.

|| That is to say, according to the commentators, they are not the soul's doing. They are, says Śridhar, जात्यनःकायमनिनाः, but जात्यरप्तम्. परं सर्वज्ञं ग्रहितः.

Again confounded thus, and through it thou,  
 Without exception, wilt all creatures see  
 First in thyself, and next in me.\* And then,  
 Even if thou art of all sinful men  
 Most sinful, still wilt thou cross over all sins,  
 By means of the boat of knowledge. As a fire  
 Kindled, Oh Arjun ! burns all fuel down  
 To ashes, so the fire of knowledge burns  
 All action down to ashes. † Nothing is  
 Like knowledge pure; and that one in oneself,  
 Perfected by devotion, finds in time.  
 One who restrains his senses, who has faith,  
 And is assiduous, knowledge obtains;  
 Obtaining knowledge, then without delay,  
 Reaches supreme tranquillity. But one  
 Who has no faith, no knowledge, who's in doubt, ‡  
 Is ruined. Neither this world, nor the next,  
 Nor happiness, are for the sceptic. Acts,  
 Oh Conqueror of wealth ! shackle not him,  
 Who by devotion has all acts renounced,  
 Who has destroyed by knowledge all his doubts,  
 And who's himself. § Therefore, Oh Bharat's child !  
 Destroy this doubt, produced from ignorance,  
 And in thy heart residing, by the sword  
 Of knowledge. Have devotion, and arise !

\* I. e. you will perceive the unity of myself and yourself and all the world—that is to say, get rid of dualism.

† Compare Chap. IV. St. 19 (line 557).

‡ He who has no faith—अज्ञः in what the preceptor teaches. He who is in doubt, अज्ञः as to whether his endeavours will be successful or not—स्रिधर.

§ अनन्तम्, the original, is explained to mean अनन्तम् in the commentaries. Compare too Chap. II. 13.

## Chapter V.

**Arjun.** Renunciation of acts thou dost praise,  
Oh Krishnal and also their pursuit,\* tell me  
For certain, which is better of the two.

**Krishna.** Renunciation and pursuit of acts  
Are sources both of happiness; of them,  
However, pursuit of acts is more esteemed  
Than their renunciation. † He who's free  
From likes and dislikes should be known to be  
The true renouncer; for, Oh large-armed one!  
He who's above the pairs of opposites,  
Is freed with ease from bonds. 'Tis children talk  
Of Sankhya and Yog as different, not the wise;  
Pursuing either well, one gets the fruit  
Of both. ‡ The Yogs go to the selfsame seat,  
Which by the Sankhyas is obtained. He sees  
In truth, who sees the Sankhya and Yog as one.  
'Tis hard, without devotion, large-armed one!  
To reach renunciation; but the sage  
Having devotion soon the Brahma attains.  
Devoted, pure, one who restrains his mind,  
Who rules his senses, and identifies  
Himself with each and every creature, he,  
Performing action, is untainted still.

\* Sankar renders कर्मयोग by तेषाम् (scil. कर्मणाम्) भन्नानम्. It may also be devotion by means of them. In substance the two meanings coincide.

† Compare Chap. XVIII. 2 et seq.

‡ As Sridhar says, by the Karmayog, one obtains purity of mind, and, by means of that, obtains salvation through right knowledge. By the Samnyâs, he also obtains the same indirect effects of the Karmayog practised before. This is stated in the next Stanza.

He thinks, who hath devotion, knowledge real,  
 That he does nothing, when he sees, hears, sleeps,  
 Touches, smells, moves, eats, breathes, talks, takes, or gives  
 Raises or drops the eyelids, but believes  
 The senses with their objects deal. \* He who performs  
 Action, and offers it to the Supreme, †  
 Without attachment, is not touched by sin,  
 Like to the lotus-leaf by water. ‡ Men  
 Who are devoted, from attachment free,  
 Action perform for purity of soul,  
 With the mere body, mind, or resolution,  
 Or even the senses. § The devoted man,  
 Abandoning the fruit of acts, obtains  
 Lasting tranquillity. || He who's attached  
 To fruit, without devotion, is chained down  
 By action. The embodied soul at ease  
 Within the city of nine portals ¶ lies,  
 Not doing nor causing, || self-controlled, all acts  
 Forsaking by the mind. § 'Tis not the Lord  
 Actions or agency creates 'mongst men,

\* Compare Chap. III. St. 28 (line 455). Our rendering of which is supported by this passage.

† Compare Chap. III. St. 30 (line 461).

‡ A very common simile in our ancient literature.

§ With the body, bathing and so forth; with the mind, meditation and so forth; with the faculty of resolution, the ascertainment of the truth; with the senses, the hearing and celebrating of God's name and so forth—Śrīdhara.

|| Compare Chap. II. 70-71 (line 357 of sqg).

¶ नैव नमस्के कर्णो मुखं चेनि सह विरोगनानि भक्तीगते हैं प्रयूषधृष्टौ.

|| I. e. not causing anything ■ be done.

§ Compare III. St. 30. Here Śankar takes नमस्का to mean अप्य नम्यते स्ति, which he interprets there to mean निषेक्तुर्वत्ता.

Nor yet does he connect action and fruit,  
 But Nature only works.\* The Lord receives  
 The sin or merit of none. † Knowledge is hid  
 By ignorance, thence do all beings err.  
 Knowledge, however, to those who have destroyed  
 By it their ignorance, shows like the sun  
 The Being Supreme. And those who in their mind  
 Have Him alone, whose soul is one with Him,  
 Who firmly rest on Him, whose final goal  
 Is He, they go—go never to return—  
 Their sins destroyed by knowledge. On a cow,  
 An elephant, a dog, a Chāndāl too,  
 And on a Brāhmaṇ of humility  
 And learning wise men look alike.‡ Even here  
 They have conquered the material world, § whose mind  
 Is equable. They are with the Supreme;  
 For the Supreme is equable, above  
 Defects. He who has knowledge of the Brāhmaṇ,  
 Whose mind is steady, who is not confused,

\* S'ridhar and Madhusūdana say that this is an answer to the difficulty.—How can man get rid of acts, when he is but a dependent agent in God's hands? जगत्, the word used in the original text, and translated by 'Nature,' is rendered by प्रकृति, in S'ankar's commentary.

† S'ankar renders जन्म by जन्म. Madhusūdana says जन्मजाय जन्मते.

‡ According to S'ankar and Madhusūdana, the Brāhmaṇ has the quality of Sattva or Goodness, the cow that of Rajas or Indifference, and the elephant and the rest that of Tamas or Badness. S'ridhar says, the Brāhmaṇ and the Chāndāl are instances of a difference as to acts; the elephant &c. of difference as to class.

§ सर्व, the original word, जन्म paraphrased by जन्म 'birth' in S'ankar's commentary, and by जन्मते in S'ridhar's.

And who is with the Brahma,<sup>\*</sup> does not feel  
 Delighted, finding pleasures, nor is grieved  
 Coming by ills. One who to external things  
 Is unaddicted, feels the happiness  
 That's in oneself; and by devotion joining  
 His own soul with the Brahma, he obtains  
 Eternal happiness.<sup>†</sup> Oh Kunti's son !  
 Enjoyments which out of the touch arise  
 Of the senses<sup>‡</sup> are a certain source of ills.  
 They do begin and end;<sup>§</sup> a prudent man  
 No pleasure in them feels. He who can bear,  
 Even here, ere he is from this body freed,  
 The agitations which desire and wrath  
 Produce, he is devoted, happy he.  
 He who within himself feels happiness  
 And pleasure, and the light of knowledge finds,  
 That devotee, one with the soul Supreme,  
 Attains the Brahmic bliss. The sages, too,  
 Whose sins have perished, and whose doubts destroyed,  
 Who do restrain themselves, who are intent  
 On universal happiness, obtain  
 The Brahmic bliss. To those ascetics, who  
 Restrain their minds, and keep themselves aloof  
 From anger and desire, who know the soul,  
 At hand<sup>||</sup> is the Brahmic bliss. He who excludes

\* I. e. who has renounced all acts—S'ankar.

† This follows the commentators, and that is the best sense to be got out of the passage as it stands. Mr. Thomson mentions an emendation, which, I adopted, would make it much clearer.

‡ The original is simply “from the touch.” It means from the touch of the senses and their objects. Compare Chap. II. St. 14.

§ Compare ‘they come and go’ in Chap. II. St. 14 (line 178).

|| The commentators say ‘on both sides’—before and after death. At hand is also admissible, I think.

The objects of the senses, 'twixt the brows  
 Centres his vision,\* making the upward wind  
 And downward even, does within the nose  
 Confine their movements, who restrains his mind,  
 His senses, and his faculty as well  
 Of fixed resolve,† the sage whose final goal  
 Is mere salvation, who is free from fear  
 Desire and anger, he is ever saved.  
 One knowing me attains tranquillity,  
 Me—the great God of all the worlds, the friend  
 Of all things living, me who do enjoy‡  
 All sacrifices and all penances.

## Chapter VI.

**Krishna.** He who, regardless of the fruit of acts,  
 Performs his duty is the devotee,  
 He the renouncoer, not he who discards  
 The sacred fire, nor who no acts performs.  
 That which is called renunciation, know,  
 Oh Pāṇḍu's son ! ■ be devotion, since  
 None can become a devotee, unless  
 All fancies § he renouncoes. Action's said

\* The power of seeing ; the original is दृष्टिः which must be thus interpreted here. Compare Chap. VIII St. 10. (line 1037). Mr. Thomson says 'confines his gaze to the space between the eyebrows'. But how can that be done ?

† The same word which has been rendered before by 'resolution' or 'steady resolution.'

‡ Sridhar suggests an alternative rendering 'protect,' which ■ also admissible.

§ These, as said before, give rise to desires ; see Chap. IV. St. 19 (line 548) and note there.

To be a means to that wise man who wants  
 To rise up to devotion ; and to him,  
 When that ■ reached, tranquillity ■ said  
 To ■ a means. Then is one said to have reached  
 Devotion, when all fancies casting off,  
 One ceases ■ attach oneself to things—  
 The objects of the senses—or to acts.  
 One should raise oneself by one's mind, nor cast  
 Oneself down,\* for one's friend as well as foe  
 Is one's mind only. To him who has restrained  
 Himself † even by his own mind, is his mind  
 Friendly ; but then to one without restraint,  
 One's own mind like an enemy behaves,  
 Injurious. He who has restrained himself,  
 And who is tranquil, has a soul intent  
 Wholly upon itself,‡ in cold and heat,  
 In honour and dishonour, pain and joy.  
 He who restrains his senses, satisfied  
 With knowledge and experience, § who unmoved  
 By aught, looks on gold, sod, and stone alike,  
 Is called a devotee. He's most esteemed,  
 Who thinks alike of good and sinful men,

\* The words for self and for mind in this and following lines are the same. But the meaning is to be distinguished as above. 'Hence' self, out of this mortal world. 'Mind' means according to Madhusūdana 'discrimination.' 'Cast down,' Madhusūdana renders by 'Merge in the ocean of this world.'

† Here अत्मा or self must mean, I think, the 'senses &c.' ■ in St. 10 (line 770).

‡ समरितः ■ rendered by वासनिषः in Śridhar's, by समरदानमभौतेन इति in Śankar's, Commentary.

§ See above Chap. III. St. 41 (line 496)

Of friends, acquaintances, and enemies,  
 Of the indifferent those that side with both,  
 Of relatives, and those that merit hate.  
 Devoid of hopes, restraining mind and sense,  
 Alone, without belongings,<sup>a</sup> and retired,  
 Sealing himself with firmness in a place,  
 Tidy, and not too high nor yet too low,  
 With cloth and skin and Kus'-grass covered over, •  
 A devotee should in devotion still  
 Engage. There, fixing on one point his mind,  
 The workings of the senses and his thoughts  
 Restraining, sitting in his seat, he should  
 Practise devotion for self-purity.  
 Firm-seated, holding body neck and head  
 Unmoved and even, looking at the tip  
 Of his own nose, not looking round about,  
 Tranquil at heart, devoid of fear, the vows  
 Of celibates † observing, and his mind  
 Restraining and concentrating on me, he  
 Should sit devoted, given up to me.‡  
 Thus practising devotion, and his mind  
 Restraining constantly, a devotee  
 Arrives at that tranquillity which leads  
 At length unto salvation, and attains

\* Compare Chapter IV. 31. एवम् (sense) = त्वं --Commentators.

† The original is असाधी, which may be conveniently rendered by celibates. ■ is the stage before a man becomes a Gṛihastha, or married householder, and in which he lives with his preceptor to learn with him.

‡ As distinguished from 'with mind concentrated on me,' 'given up to me' must be taken, as it is by Śridhar, to mean 'to whom I am the final goal.'

Assimilation with me. Neither he,  
 Oh Arjun ! who eats too much, nor yet who  
 Eats not at all, not ■ who ■ disposed  
 To too much sleep, nor he who's ever awake,  
 Attains devotion. He who takes due food  
 And exercise, at work toils duly, sleeps  
 And rises duly, the devotion gets  
 Destrucive of all misery. When the mind  
 Restrained, is steadied on the Soul alone,  
 Then he who is indifferent to all  
 Objects of longing is "devoted" called.  
 As standing in a windless place, a light  
 Moves not, that is the parallel employed  
 About a devotee, who has restrained  
 His mind, and in devotion \* is engaged.  
 That break of all connexion with all pain  
 ■ called devotion, one should understand,  
 Wherein the mind ceases to work, restrained  
 By practice of devotion ;† where one sees

\* The original word here rendered by "devotion" is still 'धृष्ट' but with the addition of वास्तवः. The same remark is to be made on Stanzas 10 and 15 and 28 (lines 774-786-833). What is meant here is concentration of mind.

† Mr. Thomson renders धृष्टेभा, the original expression, by "worship in devotion." That is certainly wrong. This definition of 'devotion' sins against one of the logical rules of definition, by including the word धृष्ट itself in a definition of धृष्ट; but this is only apparent, I think. The word धृष्ट defined means, I think, the union of the individual with the Supreme Soul—एतमन्यनि देहस्य धृष्टनं धृष्टः, as Sridhar says. The other word devotion, that to which this note is attached, means the stopping of all workings of the mind—the धृष्टविनिरोप which Patanjali speaks of.

Oneself by oneself,\* and ■ satisfied  
 Within oneself; where one attains that joy,  
 Transcendent, knowable by the mind alone,  
 Beyond the senses; which attained, one never  
 Swerves from the truth; and which acquired, one thinks  
 No other acquisition higher still;  
 Fixed in which, one cannot be shaken off  
 Even by the greatest misery. With fixed mind,  
 And undespairing heart,† should be attained  
 This same devotion. Casting off desires,  
 Without exception, of the fancy born,‡  
 Restraining all the senses on all sides  
 With the mind only,§ one should by slow steps  
 Become unmoving,|| with a firm resolve  
 Coupled with courage,¶ and upon the soul  
 Steadying the mind, should think of nought. Wherever  
 The active and unsteady mind breaks forth,  
 There should it be restrained, and held confined  
 Upon the soul alone. Then happiness  
 Supreme comes to this devotee, whose mind  
 Is fully tranquil, who is free from sin,  
Who his Indifference§ has tranquillized,

---

† Mr. Thomson's translation here, which follows Schlegel's, ■ not at all satisfactory to my mind. The explanation given by the commentators is not only admissible, but makes perfectly clear and good sense.

‡ See above St. 4 (line 749).

§ Compare Chap. III. St. 7. (line 390).

|| Comp. St. 20 (line 808).

¶ अपेण युक्ता ■ Sankar's paraphrase of the original. This, to a certain extent, explains St. 23 (line 818).

§ The Second of the three qualities about which see Notes and Illustrations.

And merged himself into the soul Supreme:  
 Thus practising devotion constantly,  
 The devotee, free from all sin, obtains  
 With ease the highest happiness, the touch\*  
 Of the Supreme. And the devoted man,  
 Regarding all alike, sees in the soul  
 All beings, and in all beings sees the soul. †  
 He who sees me in every thing, as well  
 As all things in me, him I never forsake,  
 And he forsakes me not.‡ That devotee,  
 Who worships me existing in all beings,  
 Convinced that all in one, exists in me,  
 However living.§ Arjun! he is thought  
 The greatest devotee, who looks on all  
 Pleasure and pain alike, comparing all  
 With his own||

**Arjun.** Slayer of Madhu! I see not  
 How this devotion (which thou hast declared)  
 Through equanimity, can be sustained  
 Firmly, because of fickleness;¶ for, Kṛishṇa!  
 The mind is fickle, turbulent, and strong,  
 And obstinate; and its restraint, I think,  
 Is difficult as the wind's.

**Krishna.** Oh large-armed one!

Doubtless the mind is difficult to restrain,

\* Comp. Chap. V. 7 (line 659) and other passages.

† Śridhar says this means अनंतर. Ānandagiri takes it to mean  
 अनंत्य, which would appear to be the closer interpretation.

‡ I. e. He always sees me, and I always look favourably on him.

§ Even abandoning all action, says Śridhar.

|| I. e. Who believes that pleasure and pain are liked and disliked  
 by others as they are by himself.

¶ I. e. the fickleness of the mind as shown in the next line.

And fickle too; but then, Oh Kunti's son !  
 ■ may by practice and by unconcern,<sup>\*</sup>  
 Be still restrained. Devotion, I conceive,  
 Is hard for one devoid of self-restraint ;  
 But for one, who restrains himself, and makes  
 Efforts, 'tis possible to achieve by means  
 Of measures apt

**Arjun.**      Oh Kṛishṇa what's the end  
 Of one, who's not a Yati,<sup>†</sup> who has faith,  
 Whose mind is from devotion shaken, and who  
 Has not attained ■ fully ? Does he go  
 To ruin like a broken cloud, being lost  
 To both, deluded, on the Brahmic path?  
 Unsteady, large- armed one ! Kṛishṇa, be pleased  
 This doubt of mine entirely to remove,  
 For none except thee can remove the doubt.

**Krishna.** Nor here, nor in the next world, Prithi's son !  
 Is ruin for him, for none, dear friend ! who does  
 Good deeds, comes to an evil end. A man  
 Fallen from devotion goes into the world  
 Of Holy Beings, dwells there many a year,  
 And then is born into a family  
 Of great and holy men ; or even he's born  
 Into a family of devotees  
 Of talent ; for more difficult to obtain  
 Is such a birth in this world. Then he comes

\* निष्ठा means indifference to worldly good.

† निष्ठारात्रः says Śridhar—one who does not keep up his exercise of devotion. इति is interpreted to mean one who is assiduous. See too line 590.

; 'Both' refers to Heaven the fruit of action, and emancipation the fruit of devotion. 'The Brahmic path' is the path which leads to the Brahma.

In contact with that knowledge which belonged  
 To him the previous birth,<sup>o</sup> and then again  
 Offspring of Kuru ! for perfection works.  
 For even reluctant,<sup>f</sup> he is led away  
 By that same former practice, and transcends  
 The word divine,<sup>f</sup> although he only wish  
 To learn devotion. Devotees, however,  
 Who work with might and main,<sup>g</sup> whose sins are cleared,  
 Reaching perfection after many births,  
 Attain the goal supreme. The devotee  
 To the ascetic is superior deemed,  
 Superior to the man of knowledge<sup>h</sup> too,  
 Superior to the doer of mere acts,  
 Therefore, do thou become a devotee,  
 Oh Arjun ! And among all devotees,  
 He is by me the most devoted deemed,  
 Who, with his inmost soul upon me fixed,  
 And being full of faith, doth worship me.

\* The knowledge about the Brahma.

<sup>f</sup> So Śridhar interprets अवान्. He says सुन्दरेन्द्रनरायणनिष्ठत्वात्. This meaning may be derived from its original meaning 'not master of oneself.' Comp. Chap. III. 5 (line 384).

<sup>g</sup> He rises above the fruits of the actions prescribed in the Veds—Śaukar and Śridhar. He becomes fit for the Juhn stage and rises above the Karma stage—Madhusūdana.

<sup>h</sup> As contrasted with the other who might be said to work half-heartedly. Śaukar renders the original here thus:—पद्मनाभयथमानाद-धिकतरं यज्ञस्त्रैः इत्प्रये: (?).

|| According to the commentators one who is learned in the Sūtras and their meanings.

## Chapter VII.

Krishna. And listen now, Oh son of Pritha ! how, §

With thy mind fixed upon me, and on me  
Resting, and practising devotion, thou

Mayst without doubt fully know me. I will speak  
To thee of knowledge and experience\* too,  
Exhaustively. That known, nothing remains  
For thee to know. Thousands of men among,  
'Tis only some that for perfection work.

And even 'mongst those that do work for and reach  
Perfection, some alone do truly know me.

Earth, water, fire, air, space, mind, fixed resolve,  
And egoism, my Nature's thus eight-fold  
Divided.† This a lower form; but know  
Another and a higher Nature, which  
Oh large-souled one! is animate,‡ and holds  
This world. Know that these§ are the womb of all  
Existences. I am as well the source.

\* Compare Chap. III. St. 41 (line 495) and VI. 8 (line 763).

† Compare Chap. XIII. St. 5 (line 1663). For 'my nature' comp. Chap. IV. St. 6. This is in accordance with the Sankhya Philosophy. Chap. I. Sutra ■ of the current Sankhya Aphorisms says in one part अद्यनेत्रान्मस्तोदकारींकारामज्ज्ञ-  
मन्मात्राग्नुभयादिन्द्रियाः, where मस्त् is identical with मृद् in the text; the Teasmātras are subtle rudiments of the earth and so forth in our text; and the first of the उभयमिन्द्रियः is the 'mind' in the Gītā.

‡ प्रत्यक्षज्ञाना, say the commentators, the power which sustains the material world. \*

§ The commentators take 'रूप' to refer to both the forms of Nature mentioned. Mr. Thomasou takes ■ to refer only to the latter. I prefer the rendering of the commentators, as being supported by Chap. XIII. 26 (line 1733).

As the destroyer of the Universe.  
 Oh Conqueror of wealth! nothing exists  
 Besides, superior to me. In me all  
 Is woven as pearls in numbers on a thread.  
 I am the taste\* in water, Kunti's son!  
 I am the light in both the sun and moon;  
 I am the "Om" in all the Veds; I am sound  
 In space; and inaudible in human beings;  
 I am the fragrance in the earth; I am  
 Refulgence in the fire; vitality  
 In every creature; I am austerity †  
 In the ascetic, and Oh Pṛithū's son!  
 Know me of all existences the seed  
 Eternal. I am the intellect of those  
 Of intellect; the glory I of those  
 Glorious;‡ and of the strong the strength untouched  
 By fondness or desire;§ love too I am,  
 Prince of the Bhārata! in all living beings,  
 To piety unopposed.|| All states of mind,  
 Or by the quality of Goodness caused,  
 Or of Indifference or Badness, know

\* रसः कुर्यामधुरसन्मादहृष्टः सर्वासामर्पा सारः कारणभूतौ यथामु सपीत्तनुगमः  
 Madhusūdana. रसवन्याहृष्टहृष्टवा तिभूतं भावयतेनाप्यु शिवः Sridhar. So  
 with the rest also.

† I. e. the power to bear the 'pairs of opposites'—Sridhar and  
 Madhusūdana.

‡ प्रागदृष्ट is the synonym for देवत् given by the commentators.  
 Madhusūdana adds परामिभवामर्पे परिभूतिभामध्यम्.

§ Desire is the wish to obtain what has not been obtained. Fondness is the wish to retain what has been obtained.

|| Mr. Thomson, who speaks of the 'egregious error' of his predecessors, has not rendered this expression accurately in translating it by "which is prevented by no law."

To be from me alone ; not I in them\*  
 But they in me exist. This universe  
 By these three states, (born of the qualities),†  
 Deluded, knows not me, greater than they,  
 And inexhaustible. Because divine  
 Is this delusion of mine, the result  
 Of the qualities, and difficult to transcend.  
 Therefore those only this delusion cross,  
 Who rest on me alone. Not those bad men,  
 Sinful and foolish, to the ways inclined  
 Of demons, who through this delusion are  
 Deprived of their discernment, ever do rest  
 On me. Oh Arjun ! men of classes four,  
 Doers of good, it is, that worship me—  
 He that's distressed, and he too who desires  
 Knowledge, Prince of the Bhārata ! he who wants  
 Wealth, and he who has knowledge.‡ And of these,  
 The man of knowledge, who's devoted still,  
 Who worships me alone, the highest stands.  
 For to the man of knowledge, I am dear  
 Above all things, and he is also dear  
 To me. Good are they all, but I regard  
 As my own self the man of knowledge, who  
 With soul devoted me alone accepts—  
 Me the goal unexcelled. After the close  
 Of many lives, the man of knowledge, knowing

\* They do not dominate over me, but I dominate over them.

† गुणमयैः, the original, is rendered by गुणारक्षरैः एवयैः (Sankar.) and भावैः समरैः (Stridhar.)

‡ Here the commentators interpret ज्ञानी as meaning ' one who has knowledge of the soul' not as in Chap. VI. St. 46. (line 89).

That Vāsudev ■ all, looks up to me.<sup>\*</sup>  
Such a high-minded man is hard to find.  
Those who of their discernment are deprived  
By various desires, to other Gods  
Look up, performing various rites, controlled  
By their own nature.<sup>†</sup> Whosoever desires  
With faith to worship, as a devotee,  
Any one form, <sup>‡</sup> his faith to that alone  
I render firm. With that faith furnished, he  
That form seeks to propitiate, and thence  
The pleasant things he wants receives, yet sent  
By me alone. But that fruit, thus obtained  
By these men, undiscriminating, perishes.  
Those who the Deities worship go to them,<sup>§</sup>  
My worshippers to me. The ignorant  
Think me unseen possessed of form, not knowing  
My inexhaustible, high, unexcelled  
Essence.|| 'Tis not to all I am known, concealed

\* प्राप्तेः is explained to mean वस्त्रै by S'ridhar and Madhusūlā; प्राप्ताद्यन् by Śankar. And see XV. 4 (line 1860).

† 'Rites'—literally 'regulations'—S'ridhar instances facts and so forth. 'Nature' is here again explained to mean the जीवान्तराविनियतं. स्वारपितृष्ठ, or as S'ridhar puts it, गुण्यासाधना.

‡ Soil, of the Divinity.

§ And the Deities are not eternal, but as S'ridhar says अनन्तात्; Therefore the fruit these worshippers obtain is but ephemeral.

|| वा■ is interpreted to mean सदृष्ट by the commentators. Mr. Thomson observes on this passage, that 'our philosopher would seem to be cutting his own throat on this ground,' but I am not sure that that is so. The true meaning seems to be, that the ignorant think the Divine essence of Vishnu to be no higher than is manifested in the human incarnation, and that gives them no idea of the purity and eternity of the happiness to be enjoyed by propitiation

By the delusion of my mystic power.\*  
 This world, deluded, knows not me unborn  
 And inexhaustible. Oh Arjun! I  
 Know things that have been, things that are, and things  
 That shall be; me, however, nobody knows.  
 Oh Bharat's child! killer of enemies!  
 All creatures, when created, are confused  
 Through the delusion, by the pairs produced  
 Of opposites, arising out of likes  
 And dislikes. Men of meritorious acts,  
 Whose sins have reached their close, firm in their vows,†  
 Worship me, freed from the delusion caused  
 By these pairs. Those who for release from death  
 And old age;‡ strive, resting on me, know well  
 The Brahma, the Adhyatma, and all acts.  
 And those who know me with the Adhibhut,  
 And with the Adhidaiv, the Adhiyajna—

---

of Vishnu. This, says Krishna, is wrong. Men ought not to confine their view to the human form, which, for a special purpose, I have assumed, but look ■ my real essence, which is far higher, and judge from that. Compare Chap. IX. St. 11. (line 1136).

\* Compare Kathopanishad III. 12. Sankar thus explains योगमाया योगी गुणाना शुद्धिपूर्वम् लेप माया कैगमाया; Sriñihar says योगी शुद्धिमै-  
 हृषि: कैप्यविन्दतः प्रकारितासः स एव माया; Madhusudan says योगी भगवं सं-  
 कार्यस्थापनात्मनो गमय. I follow Sriñihar as being supported by Chap.  
 IX. St. 5. (line 1114) "My mystic power creates a veil around me  
 which not every one can pierce through."

† Sankar says एवमेव परमायेतत्त्वं नान्ययेत्तेऽन सर्वभृत्यायश्वेन निषेदितपिकाना।  
 दृढप्रता इच्छन्ते. Sriñihar says एवान्तिनः; and Madhusudan सर्वैषा भगवानेव  
 भजनीयः स चैतेष्वप्य पश्यति प्रभावानितामायामायामूलयोगेष्वानाः.

‡ Mr. Thomson proposes to read जन्ममरण for जरामरण, which might, perhaps, be a good suggestion, but for its breaking the metre. And see too Chap. XIII. St. 8. (line 1671) and Chap. XIV. St. 20 (line 1823).

Those men, possessed of minds devoted, know  
Me also at the time they hence depart.\*

### Chapter VIII.

Akshar-paribh.  
(Krishna)

**ARJUD.** What is that Brahma, what the Adhyātma, what  
Those acts, Oh best of Beings! what is called  
The Adhibhūt, and what the Adhidaiv?  
And slayer of Madhu! who's the Adhiyajna,  
And how within this body; and how too  
Art thou known by the men of self-restraint,  
When they depart hence?

**Krishna.** Brahna is the Supreme,  
The Indestructible; its change† is called  
The Adhyātma; and the offering which is  
The cause of the production of all things  
And their development—that ■ called act.‡

\* All this ■ explained in the next Chapter.

† एवम् । S'ridhar says सर्वते प्राण इति कला चीष्टकोण भरनं दद्धातः ।  
Shankar says एवस्य ब्रह्मः प्रतिरेत्प्रयगात्मभावः समावी हति स्तोभावः समाप्तः ।  
Madhusūdana says प्रयासस्फूरये चात्मार्थं देहमधिकृतं श्रीकृष्णस रविमायदधामं  
मुचने । I do not think that Mr. Thomson's translation is satisfactory,  
but his explanation follows that of the commentators. 'Change,' too,  
is not an unexceptionable rendering; but ■ ■ better than 'nature,'  
as showing that दद्धात् is used in a somewhat unusual sense here.

‡ दैर्वीदेवै चक्षुरीदाक्षादैः सर्व इत्यर्थं विवरणम्—S'ankar. From the  
offerings to the Gods are produced all things. Compare Chap. III.  
St. 14. (line 411). This is meant, says S'ridhar, as only an indication,  
an example, of all acts. The rendering 'production and development'  
is according to S'ridhar. S'ankar says मूलानां गती मूलमापदासकैकृष्णो मूलमाती-  
कृष्णं करोत्तमि मूलमातीकृष्णरो मूलमातीकृष्णर इत्यतः ।

The Adibhût ■ all things perishable.<sup>\*</sup>  
 The Adidaivat is the Primal Being.<sup>†</sup>  
 Best of embodied ones !, the Adhiyajna  
 Is I myself—I in this body here.<sup>‡</sup>  
 And he who at the time of death departs,  
 Abandoning his body, of me alone  
 Thinking, he does into my essence come,  
 Without all doubt. Likewise, whichever form  
 He thinks on, when this body he forsakes  
 At last, to that, Oh Kunti's son ! he goes,  
 Having been used to think upon it.<sup>§</sup> Hence  
 Always remember me and fight, thy mind  
 And steady resolution on me fixed,  
 Thou wilt come to me alone, there is no doubt.  
 For he, Oh Pṛithī's son ! who with his mind,  
 Of the devotion of repeated thought||

\* I follow the commentators here also. Mr. Thomson takes the words here to mean "(my) own indivisible (sic. it should be divisible) nature," but there is no word answering to '(my) own' in the text. मात्र means 'things,' and I think the sense given by the commentators admissible. And see, Stanzas XIX., XX., XXI. (lines 1067 et seq.), and also Chap. XV. St. 16. (line 1903). भरोपायः may also be taken as answering to सम्पदः above. See further Notes and Illustrations.

† रैतः सुदेवाद्यस्ती says Sridhar, following Śankar here as elsewhere.

‡ I. e. as Krishna. On all these terms Mr. Thomson's note may be usefully consulted. They refer to the various manifestations of the Brahma.

§ Śankar says तत्त्वनामस्यहूयः स भावितः स्यद्देवाननदाम्पत्ते देव. Śrīdhar has the following एव भावे भावनानुचिन्वन् देव भावौ भावितपैचः. Madhusūdana states and agrees with both of these interpretations, which, indeed, are not very different from one another.

|| Devotion here again should be understood as meaning सम्पदे

Possessed, and steadied on one only, thinks  
 Of the Supreme and Heavenly Being,\* goes  
 To him. He who doth meditate upon  
 The ancient sage, the ruler, more minute  
 Than the minutest atom, the creator  
 Of all, of form incomprehensible,  
 Like the sun brilliant, and removed beyond  
 Darkness; with faith, and with a steady mind,  
 And with the power of devotion, well  
 Concentrating his breath between his brows,  
 At the hour of death, goes to that Being Supreme,  
 Divine. I will speak in brief to thee about  
 The seat, which those who know the Veds do call  
 The Indestructible, which those who wish  
 Practice the life of celibates,† and which  
 Ascetics enter, from affections free.  
 He who all paths‡ stops up, and in the heart  
 Confines the mind,§ shuts up the breath within

or concentration of mind, as in Chap. IV. St. 26 (line 588). So says Madhusūdan. S'ridhar understands by योगः a means, व्यायः. S'ankar does not explain the word. Compare Chap. XII. St. 9 (line 1609).

\* S'ankar says on the word अनुविन्तप्तम्, आत्मायोपदेशमनुप्तय-  
 निषेदत्, and ■ takes the next stanza as going with this—तमनु-  
 पित्पत्त्यन्तर्विति पूर्णैः संतत्यः. S'ridhar says पुरीरप्त्यनुपित्पत्तनीये पुरावै निषिद्धान्ति  
 कारिभिति द्वायामः. With this Madhusūdan agrees.

† See note on Chapter VI. St. 14 (line 784.).

‡ व्यायः is explained to mean निष्ठयव्यायः by S'ridhar and Mi-  
 dhusūdan, and apparently S'ankar also. May it not refer to the नप्त्यव्याय  
 referred to in Chapter V. St. 13. (line 677)?

§ ब्रह्मविषयस्मरणयप्त्यकुर्वन्त्ययैः says S'ridhar. With this agrees Ma-  
 dhusūdan, and also S'ankar, I think, but he says simply निःप्रभा-  
 त्तामायामः. ■ describes the state in which, as Wordsworth says,  
 'Thought is not.'

The head,\* adopts a firm devotion, utters  
 The single syllable "Om"—the Soul Supreme,†  
 And thinks of me, and goes abandoning  
 The body thus, reaches the goal supreme.  
 To him, Oh Prithi's son ! who meditates  
 Always on me, with mind not elsewhere moving,  
 And without break, and who's a devotee  
 Devoted still, I am easy of access. ७  
 The high-minded ones coming to me, do never  
 Return ■ Life—transient, a house of woes—  
 Having attained supreme perfection. Worlds  
 Oh Arjun ! up to that of Brahma, all  
 Are fated to return, but Kunti's son !  
 Coming to me, there is no birth again.‡  
 Those who a day of Brahma know, which ends  
 After a thousand ages, and a night  
 Which ends after a thousand ages, are  
 The men who know both day and night.§ All things

\* Compare St. 10 (line 1035) *supra*.

† I. e. signifying the Supreme Soul प्रशान्तोऽभिपानमूर्तम् says S'ankar. Comp. Chap. XVII. St. 23 (line 2075).

‡ That is to say, persons, who go to any of the worlds up to and including the world of Brahma, are destined to be born again. Only those who reach Vishnu's abode are rid of birth and death for ever.

§ S'ankar says, that this explains why the abodes of Brahma and the others are held ■ be not everlasting. The reason is, that they are limited by time; they are not beyond time. S'riddhar says, that the intention is to show how the higher worlds are superior to the 'three worlds' so called, and thus to explain those texts in which the attainment of those other worlds is stated as something excellent, a doubt arising about their value from what has just been said about their not being everlasting. Madhusudan agrees with S'ankar. S'ridhar's note on the 'Yuga' may be here epitomized. A human year ■ a day and night ■ the Goda. 12000 years made up of days of this duration make up the 'quaternion of ages.' A thousand such 'quater-

Perceptible are born from "The Unperceived"  
 Upon the approach of day; and they dissolve  
 In that same thing, called "The Unperceived," upon  
 The approach of night.\* This mass of entities,  
 Also, produced once and again, dissolves  
 Upon the approach of night; and Prithî's son!  
 Upon the approach of day, devoid of power,  
 It is sent forth.† There is an entity,  
 However, unperceived, apart from this  
 Which ■ perceived, above it, and sterile,  
 Which perishes not, though all these entities  
 Do perish—it ■ called The Unperceived,  
 The Indestructible; the highest goal  
 They call it; that attained, none ever returns.  
 That's my Supreme Abode.‡ Oh Prithî's son!  
 This Highest Being, who all this pervades,  
 In whom live all existences, can through  
 Devotion undivided be attained  
 The time, Prince of the Bhârats! I will tell thee,  
 When devotees that go, go to return,  
 Or never to return. The flame of fire,  
 The day, the light half-month, and the six months

---

nions make up a day of Brahmâ, and a similar one his night. Of such days and nights Brahmâ has 100 years as the measure of his life.

\* Compare Chap. II. St. 28. (line 267). Sankar says अप्यत्तम् means परापृथिवीः सापारस्था. The same idea as here may be seen in Kâlidâsa's Kumâr Sambhav II. 8.

† अप्यत्तम् ■ said ■ mean अप्यत्तम् by Sankar. Sridhar says परतन्मः सन्. See Chap. III. St. 5. (line 384). ■ means, 'having no of its own'.

‡ Compare Chap. XV. St. 6. (line 1870). वाम्, which means abode, also means 'glory;' and hence Sridhar takes it here to mean वरदृग्. The line may then mean 'That is my supreme and glorious form.'

Of the northern solstice—those who know the Brahma,  
And die in these, repair unto the Brahma.  
The smoke, the night, the dark-half, the six months  
Of the southern solstice—in this period  
The devotee reaches the lunar light,\*  
And then returns.† These two paths, light and dark,

\* The commentators endeavour very strenuously to reconcile this with the Vedantic propositions on the subject. (See those expounded in the Śāṅkara Bhāṣya Chap. IV. Pād 2, Sūtras 17 & seq., and Pād 7. Sūtras 4-6.) They understand all the different things mentioned here as standing for the Deities appertaining to them. Thus Fire means the God of Fire and so on. Śāṅkar also suggests an alternative interpretation for the first two, Fire and flame, namely that they both signify Deities presiding over time. But this I do not quite understand. The whole interpretation presents this difficulty, that the passage purports to state the time in which one dying returns not to the world. Śridhar gets over this by explaining the whole passage as follows:—यस्मन्कालमियानिरेवनोपलक्षिते मर्ये प्रणता योगिनः...यथोक्तमनादु-निभावतं च यानि ते कालाभिगानिरेवनोपलक्षितं मर्ये क्वचिष्ठामि. The substance of this is that 'the time when' means 'the path, indicated by a Deity presiding over time, by which.' It is somewhat difficult to accept this interpretation. And Śāṅkar's remarks under Brahma Sutra IV. ■ 21 evidently show, that he thought the passage ought to be taken to refer ■ 'time,' although ■ hints ■ a different interpretation. One difficulty still remains, however; what is the meaning of 'fire' when the question is about 'time'? Śridhar says that the word 'time' is used here, having regard to the large number of words signifying parts of time, although 'fire' itself has no connection with time. अधिकृतेषां कालाभिगानिमापदिव भूयस्तम-दाविद्यावीकानः कालाभिगानां शाइवेशावरमित्यावेदव्याख्यावेदीयद्वयमवि-द्वयम्. I own, I have no clear notion of the meaning of the word 'fire' here. The difficulty almost tempts me to accept even the meaning given by the commentators to the whole passage.

† Mr. Thomson thinks, that this whole passage has a metaphorical force, and that it is the Philosophers of the Uttar Mīmāṃsa school, who have made the mistake of interpreting ■ literally. I think the passages in the Chhandogyopanishad, which seems to be the original of this passage in the Gita, cannot be understood

Are deemed to be eternal in this world.\*  
 Taking the one, one goes never to return,  
 By the other comes again. No devotee,  
 Oh son of Pritha ! knowing these two paths,  
 Is ever confounded;† therefore, Arjun ! be  
 Possessed at all times of devotion. This‡  
 Knowing, the devotee rises above  
 All the holy fruit laid down for penances,  
 For study of the Veds, for giving alms,  
 For sacrifices ; and he does repair  
 To the transcendent, the primeval, seat.

### Chapter IX.

*Raju. Radha. Raji. S.  
 Krishna. Of knowledge and experience—mystery  
 Supreme—I will speak to thee who dost not carp.  
 Knowing that, thou from evil shalt be freed.  
 Of sciences and secrets, 'tis the chief,§*

metaphorically, but must be understood in the sense which the commentators attach to it. Besides, I cannot see why there should be much difficulty in accepting the lunar world as a place for enjoyment of an inferior sort. After all, what is the Heaven which the Gita speaks of in Chap. IX. St. 21, but something like the moon? As to the ground for saying that the moon is a place for enjoyment, that is an entirely different question, which might be pertinently asked of several other 'superstitions' than this one.

\* I. e. as Sridhar says, for those who are fitted for the paths of knowledge or action.

† I. e. says Sridhar, does not desire Heaven as giving happiness, but is steady in devotion to God; because, I take it, he sees that any other course would not free him from repeated birth and death.

‡ I. e. All that is stated in this Chapter—Sankar.

§ This according to the commentators. The rendering 'kingly mystery' is scarcely satisfactory. See 1 Siddhanta Kaumudi 482.

The best of purifiers, not opposed  
 To law, directly knowable, not hard  
 To practise, and imperishable. Those  
 Who on this holy doctrine place no faith,  
 Oh slayer of foes ! obtain not me, but come  
 Back to this mortal world. By me whose form  
 Is imperceptible, is all this world  
 Pervaded. All existences in me  
 Live,\* but not I in them. Nor yet do these  
 Existences live in me. See my power†.  
 Divine. Supporting and producing all  
 Existences, my spirit stands not in them.  
 Know, as the mighty air, pervading all,  
 Always remains in space, so in me stand  
 All these existences. Oh Kunti's son !‡  
 Upon the expiry of a Kalpa, all things  
 Into my Nature§ go, at the opening  
 Of the Kalpa, I send them forth again. I send  
 Now and again this mass of entities,

\* Compare Chapter VII. St. 12. (line 936), Things live in him, he being their cause and their support. He lives not in them, because he is untainted by anything, like space, say the commentators. From this last standpoint, follows the next assertion that the things do not live in him. Mr. Thomson's explanation makes the passage quite clear.

† The word used here is वायु, and Sankar here interprets it thus, पृथग् मे कोनं कुम्हः पृथग् :

अस्मैः. Compare. Chap. VII. St. 25 (line 980).

‡ On this Sridhar says अस्मैहेतुवैरप्रकारापेक्षात् दृष्टान्तेनाद्. As space is untainted and unaffected by the air which yet remains in it, so I am unaffected by all things which yet are in me. पृथग्संहेतुवैरप्रियतानि says Sankar.

§ Once more we have 'my Nature.' Compare Chap. VII St. 4 (line 910),

Entire, devoid of power,<sup>\*</sup> by means of the power  
 Of Nature, taking its control myself.<sup>†</sup>  
 But not these actions, Conqueror of wealth!  
 Shackles me,<sup>‡</sup> standing like one unconcerned,  
 And to them unattached. Nature gives birth  
 To immoveables and moveables, through me  
 The supervisor, and in consequence  
 Of this,<sup>§</sup> Oh Kunti's son! the world moves on.  
 Deluded people of vain hopes, vain acts,  
 Vain knowledge,<sup>||</sup> who towards the natures tend<sup>¶</sup>,  
 Delusive, of Asurs and Râkshases—  
 Futuous, they disregard me as I am  
 Invested with a human form, not knowing  
 My highest nature as great Lord of all.<sup>§</sup>  
 But the high-souled ones, Oh son of Prithâ! who  
 Tend to the nature of the Gods, do know

\* Compare Chap. VIII. St. 19. (line 1068).

† Comp. last note but one and line 319. We have 'my nature' here also.

‡ मूर्खामि तिष्ठते विद्युतस्त्रिमित्याग्नि अमीर्षमैष्या संवदः स्थारितीदयाः says S'ankar.

§ I. e. this supervision—भनेन जयायोगेन उक्ताः says S'rîdhar. S'ankar agrees with this.

|| Hope—that some other Deity will give them the fruits of their acts. The acts are vain, because they are not offered up to the Supreme Being. The knowledge is vain, as abounding in various foolish doubts and puzzles. So says S'rîdhar. Madhusûdana says:—The hope is that their acts will yield them fruits independently of God. As to the other two, Madhusûdana is quite in one with S'rîdhar.

¶ It is rather difficult to render लिप्ति properly. 'Adopt' signifies an act voluntarily done. Mr. Thomson has 'incline,' and following him I take 'tend' as the best word I can find. Mr. Thomson is in error in translating लिप्ति by deluded. It means 'deluding.'

§ Compare Chap. VII. 24 (line 979) and our note there, which is supported by this passage.

Me inexhaustible, and source of things,  
 And worship me with minds not elsewhere turned.  
 Always devoted, they do worship me,  
 Singing my glories constantly, in vows  
 Steady, and working,\* and saluting me  
 Devotedly.† And others worship me,  
 The sacrifice of knowledge offering up,  
 As one, as separate, as pervading all,‡  
 Variously.§ I am the Kratu, I the Yajna.||

\* Working for knowledge of God's greatness, according to S'ridhar; for an idea of his real nature, according to Madhusūdan; for self-restraint and such other acts of piety, says S'ankar.

† भक्ति is the original which means devotedness. The commentators render it by प्रेर्णा—intense love.

‡ विशेषज्ञ lit having faces towards all sides, is rendered by विशेष by S'ankar; and by सर्वभक्त by S'ridhar; and by सर्वामन् by Madhusūdan.

§ The sacrifice of knowledge means, according to S'ridhar, the sacrifice (पञ्च) consisting in the knowledge that Viśudev is all. The last words are thus explained by S'ridhar:—‘as one’ means with the feeling of all being one; ‘as separate’ means with a feeling of difference—oneself being servant of God; ‘as all-pervading’ is clear. ‘Variously’ is taken to refer to the different forms in which the Supreme is held before the mind, as Brahmā, Rudra, &c. S'ankar's interpretation is slightly different. The first ‘as one’ is explained as by S'ridhar; the second by ‘with a feeling that the sun, moon, &c., are really Vishnu in different forms’; the third by ‘with a feeling that the Supreme exists variously.’ पञ्च is explained by पञ्चकरण—[worship] in a variety of ways. Madhusūdan says, the three stages are these. In the first, the man identifies himself with the Supreme (For this he cites the Upanishad text स वास्तविक ममी दैरत्य नाहे न वासते). In the second, he takes the several “Pratikas” stated in Vedic texts (प्रातिकं वद्योन्पत्तयः &c.). In the third the man worships another Deity altogether.

|| Kratu is that laid down in Srutis; Yajna that in Smritis, say S'ankar and the other commentators.

I am the libation to the manes, I  
 The product of the herbs,\* the sacred verse  
 I am; the sacrificial butter I,  
 I am the fire, I am the offering,  
 I am the father of this Universe,  
 The mother, the supporter, the grandsire,  
 The purifier, the thing to be known,  
 The Om, the Rik, the Sām, the Yajus too,  
 The goal, and the sustainer, and the Lord,  
 The supervisor, and the residence,†  
 The asylum, and the friend, the source as well  
 As the destroyer, the receptacle,‡  
 And the support, the imperishable seed.  
 Heat I do cause, and showers I pour down  
 And stop. Oh Arjuna! I am nectar, I  
 Am death, I am that which is, and which is not.§  
 Those who do study the three Veds, and who  
 The Soma-juice drink, who of their sins are cleared,  
 Performing sacrifices for me,|| pray  
 A passage into Heaven, and attain  
 The holy world of Indra, and there in Heaven  
 Enjoy the Heavenly pleasures of the Gods.

\* The food produced from vegetables. Śridhar says, it may also mean 'medicine.'

† Supervisor scil. of all the acts and omissions of living creatures; (Śankar) residence, is the place of enjoyment (Śridhar and Madhusūdana).

‡ उपस्थानम् says Śridhar. Madhusūdana says निषयते कालान्तरे प्रभोर्ये वस्तुतिमालिति.

§ That which is gross and that which is subtle (Śridhar). According to Śankar, they mean the effects and the causes—कार्यकारणे.

|| I. e. sacrifices given to me in the form of Indra and others.

Having enjoyed that great celestial world,  
 Their merit being exhausted, they return  
 Into this mortal world.\* Those who adopt  
 The Vedic ordinances, for things of sense  
 Desirous, in this manner go and come.  
 To those who meditate on me alone,  
 And worship me, and who are constant, I  
 Give and preserve what's given.† Those also, who  
 Being devotees of other Gods, imbued  
 With faith, do worship, worship me, Oh son  
 Of Kunti! but not || they ought.‡ For I,  
 Of every sacrifice am both the lord  
 And the enjoyer.§ But they knew me not  
 Correctly, therefore do they fall.|| The men  
 Who to the Gods make vows|| go to the gods,  
 And those who make vows to the manes go  
 To them, the worshippers of the Bhuts, too, go  
 To them, and those who worship me to me.  
 Whoever with devotion offers me  
 Leaf, flower, fruit, water—that from that pious man,  
 Brought on out of devotion, I accept.

\* Compare Brahma Gīta III. 1. 8. (p. 733) and Gītā line 1088.

† Constant means always given up to me. 'Give and preserve'—the expression is योगदेव for which compare Chap. II. St. 45 (line 274).

‡ Compare Chap. XVI. St 17 (line 1978). In worshipping the other Deities, they worship Viśnu in effect, but not directly, and not with the knowledge that they worship Viśnu. Śankar says अपरिरक्षान्, Śridhar has अपराकरं निये निय. Madhusūdana follows Śankar. What follows explains these words.

§ Comp. Chap. V. St. 29 (line 734); lord=giver of the fruit.

|| I. e. return to this world.

¶ Compare Chap. VII. St. 23 (line 975). Śankar says रैव एव नियतो  
 भासित देवा है.

Whatever thou dost, whatever thou exist, whatever  
 Thou sacrificest, and whatever thou givest,  
 Whatever penance thou performst, Oh son  
 Of Kunti I do as offered unto me.\*  
 Thus shalt thou be released from ties of acts  
 In good or ill resulting, and possessed  
 Of this devotion, this abandonment,†  
 Freed, thou shalt come to me. I am alike  
 To every creature, none is odious  
 To me, none dear. But those who worship me,  
 Are in me, and I am in them.‡ Even though  
 An ill-conducted man should worship me,  
 None other worshipping, he must be thought  
 A saint, for he has well resolved.§ He soon  
 Becomes a pious man, and then attains  
 Endless tranquillity. Oh Kunti's son!  
 Be thou assured,|| never is my devotee

\* Compare Chap. III. St. 30 (line 481) and other passages.

† कृपात्—The word which has been rendered by 'renunciation' before. This mode of action is at once devotion and renunciation. ■ is renunciation, because it is offered to another; ■ is devotion, because, in such a case, he cares not for the fruit of the acts. Compare VI. 2 (line 741-2). Mr. Thomson takes कृपात् and कृपा as two different things here, and the whole as a Dvandva Compound. I prefer the commentators' view supported by the passage just cited.

‡ 'They are in me' by their devotion; 'I am in them,' as giver of happiness to them (Sridhar). Compare Chap. VI. St. 30 (line 840). Sridhar says यत्करोऽस्मै सद्विद्विषयः सद्विद्विषयः न वैष्णवं पथा या कल्पद्रुष्य तथैर भक्तवत्त्वादेनोपि यम वैष्णवं मालार्थं दित्युं भूत्वेरेषायं पदिमा.

§ Namely, that the Supreme Being alone should be worshipped.

|| The commentators take प्रसिद्धान्तिः in the ordinary sense 'de-

Ruined. To me resorting, even those,  
 Oh Pṛithu's son ! who are of sinful birth,\*  
 Women, and Vais'yas, S'ādhas too, attain  
 The goal Supreme. What needs then to be said  
 Of Holy Brāhmaṇas, and of royal saints  
 Devoted. Having come into this world,  
 Transient, unhappy,† worship me. On me  
 Steady thy mind; become my devotee;  
 Worship me; bow to me; and thus engaged  
 Still in devotion,‡ making thy resort  
 Me only, thou shalt surely come to me.

## Chapter X.

**Krishna.** Once more, Oh large-armed one ! hear thou my words,  
 Important, which, solicitous for thy good,  
 I speak to thee delighted.§ Not the hosts  
 Of gods, nor mighty sages know my source;  
 clare,<sup>1</sup> and add 'among persons who may raise disputes about it.'<sup>2</sup>  
 This is not insatiable, but it is rather farfetched, and on the  
 other hand, our meaning is not the usual one.

\* Śankar takes Vais'yas &c., to be specific examples of this.  
 S'Ridhar takes इ to refer to भरतवान्; and to mean विकृद्वान्मानः.  
 Śankar says पापानि योगीयेषां हि.

† Comp. Chap. VIII. St. ॥ (line 1033).

‡ Compare Chap. VI. St. 19 (line 865) and note there.

§ Mr. Thomson translates the word here by 'whom I love.' I prefer the rendering of the commentator, for which अप्युपाति in Chap. IX. St. 1 (line 1102) furnishes a good parallel. अप्युपाति means 'pleased' as in ग्रीष्मानं यः तुष्टिते; ग्रीष्मं च तुष्टी &c., and the passive of that would mean 'to be pleased.' परम (important) = परमानन्दिः S'Ridhar.

For I am the origin of all the gods—  
 And mighty sages. He among all men  
 Who, undeluded, knows me as unborn,  
 Without beginning, the great Lord of the world,  
 Is from all sins released. Intelligence,  
 Knowledge,\* and freedom from delusion too,  
 Patience, truth, self-restraint, tranquillity,  
 Pleasure, and pain, birth, death, and safety, fear,  
 Contentment, equality, besides  
 Austerities, harmlessness, glory, shame,  
 Alms-giving—all these tempers different  
 Of creatures flow from me alone.† The seven  
 Great sages, and the Manus, the Ancients four,  
 Whose off-spring are these people in the world,  
 Partaking of my powers, all were born  
 From my mind.‡ He who rightly understands  
 My emanations and my powers§ thus,  
 Attains unmoved devotion, there is no doubt.

\* S'ankar says तुष्टिरत्नःकर्तव्यस्य कूपाद्यर्थीर्थे भवत्तमर्थं..... शास्त्रमात्मा-  
 विषयार्थामर्थस्तेवः.

† The words used in the original do not always signify 'tempers' or states of mind. But the 'tempers' answering to the significations must be understood. Compare Chapter VII, St. 12. (line 936).

‡ "The ancients four," means Sanak, Sanandana, Sanchar and Sanatkumār. S'ankar would seem to take पुण्डरी के going with मनम् ; and adds सापार्थी हये प्रतिष्ठाः. But the Manus are fourteen. 'From my mind'—S'atkumar says संकल्पनाकरणातःः.

§ यद्युग्म. Compare Chap. IX. St. 6. (line 1114). On भूयुग्म see this Chapter passage.

The wise, being full of love,<sup>\*</sup> do worship me,  
 Thinking that I am the source ~~in~~ all, that all  
 Moves on through me. They rest contented, pleased,  
 Fixing their minds on me, and offering  
 Their lives to me,<sup>†</sup> speaking of me, each other  
 Teaching. To these, devoted constantly,  
 Who with love worship, I communicate  
 That knowledge<sup>‡</sup> by which they do come ~~in~~ me.  
 And 'tis of such men only I destroy,  
 Being within their hearts, the darkness born  
 Of ignorance, by means of the bright lamp  
 Of knowledge, through compassion for such men.<sup>§</sup>

**Arjun.** Transcendent Brahma thou, the final goal,  
 The Holiest of the Holy, too, thou art.  
 All sages call thee the Eternal Being,  
 Divine, the first of Deities, Lord, Unborn.  
 So say the sages, so the sage divine—  
 Narad—so Asit, Deval, and so Vyba;  
 And so, Oh Kes'av! thou tellst me thyself.  
 I do believe all that thou sayst ~~in~~ true.  
 For Oh great Lord! nor god nor demon knows  
 Thy incarnation,<sup>||</sup> thou alone dost know

\* So Sridhar. Shankar interprets the original word to mean, एतमायैतर्वा भिन्नैरेत्. Comp. संवेदन Chapt. XVII. St. 62 (line 2320).

† Shankar says अद्युपर्याप्तस्तरता हस्तयः अप्यता अद्युपर्याप्ताः. Sridhar agrees; अद्युपर्याप्ताः is the alternative he gives.

‡ शुद्धिस्तरं वेगमुपाप्त् says Sridhar. शुद्धिः तत्त्वात्मने वेग वोगः says Shankar; with this Madhavadasa agrees.

§ अप्यती भिन्नैतर्वा भिन्नैः says Shankar. शुद्धिपूर्वी विषयः says Sridhar. There is a slight difficulty about भिन्न on this construction.

|| प्रकृति is प्रभा, according to Shankar; विभिन्नता, according to

Thyself by thyself, Best of beings! Lord  
 Of the Universe! Maker of all that is,  
 And master! God of gods! Oh be thou pleased  
 Thy glorious emanations to describe,  
 Fully, by which thou permeatest all  
 These worlds. Oh glorious one!\* how shall I know  
 Thee, fully meditating at all times?  
 In what forms of existence, Oh great Lord!  
 Should I upon thee meditate? Once more  
 Janardan! tell me of thy powers at length,  
 And of thy emanations; for to hear  
 This nectar, I feel no satiety.

**Krishna.** Well, first of Kurns! I will describe to thee  
 My emanations glorious, but the chief  
 Alone, for there's no end to my extent.  
 I am the soul, Oh Lord of Sleep! in the hearts  
 Fixed, of all creatures. The beginning I,  
 The middle, and the end of every being.  
 Amongst the Ádityas I am Vishnu. I  
 Among the shining bodies am the Sun  
 Beaming. I am Marichi 'mongst the winds.  
 The Moon among the Nakshatras I am.  
 Among the Veds I am the Säm-ved.† I  
 Among the gods am Vâsav. I am the mind

S'ridhar who says देवा भगवद्गुरुसार्थं मित्रमित्यकिरिति य लानन्ति दामना।  
 वास्माद्विषयदार्थमिति च निश्चिरः ॥

\* कीरो नामेकर्त्त तदस्तत्त्वात्तिति कीरो, says Anandagiri, which seems to be justified by the context. Otherwise it might be taken as equivalent to कांखं चर.

† Compare Alaryya Brahman. III. 23. p. 68 (Harg's Ed.).

Among the senses I am consciousness.  
 Among all creatures S'ankar too I am  
 Among the Rudras, and I am the Lord  
 Of wealth among the Yakshas, Rakshases.  
 Among the Vasus I am Fire. Among  
 Mountains hightopped I am Meru. Know, Oh son  
 Of Prithâ! I am Brihaspati, the chief  
 Of priests domestic. Generals among  
 I am Skanda. I am ocean amongst reservoirs  
 Of water. And among the sages great  
 I am Bhîrgu. I am the single syllable Om  
 'Mongst words. Among all forms of worship I am  
 The Jap. Amongst the firmly-fixed ones  
 I am the Himalaya. Of all trees I am  
 The Asvattha. Sages divine among  
 I am Nârad. And among the Gandharvas  
 I am Chitrarath. Among the perfect ones  
 I am the sage Kapil. Among horses know  
 Uchchais'ravas I am, through the nectar found.†  
 Airâvat I among great elephants.  
 A prince 'mongst men. I am the thunderbolt  
 'Mongst weapons. And among all cows I am  
 The cow Kâm-dhenu. Likewise I am Love  
 Which generates. I am Vasuki 'mongst snakes.  
 Ananta, too I am the Nâgs among.  
 I am Varun 'mongst aquatic beings. I  
 Among the manes am the Aryamâ.  
 Amongst the regulators I am Yam.

\* S'ankar says कार्यकारणसंकलनमिवता पुरुषोचयेनमा. S'ridhar भूमानी संद-  
 खितमी ऐतना द्वानशास्त्रिरहमपि. Madhusudan विश्वमित्रमा पुरुषोचः.

† I. e. found ■ the course of the labours for obtaining the Amrit,  
 namely the churning of the ocean.

Pralabd I am among the Daityas. ||  
 Am Time among the things that count. \* I am  
 The prince of beasts among the beasts, 'mongst birds  
 The son of Vinata. † I am the wind  
 'Mongst purifiers. Among those that wield  
 Weapons, I am Rām. ‡ Among the fishes, I  
 Am Makar, among streams the Jāhnavi.  
 I am the beginning, as well as the end,  
 The middle, too, Oh Arjun! of creation. §  
 I am the science of the soul among  
 The sciences, of controversialists  
 The argument. || Among the letters I am  
 The letter A, and 'mongst the various sorts  
 Of compounds I am the Dvandva. ¶ I alone  
 Am Time eternal, the creator I  
 Whose faces are in all directions. # Death

\* It is difficult to say what this precisely means. Śankar says काळः, दक्षयतो करुने गपने हुदेनामहम्. Sridhar कलयतो वशीकूरतो गणयतो ना मध्ये कालीहमस्मि. Madhusūdana दक्षयतो संस्थाने गपने कुरुतो मध्ये कालीहम्. Under St. 33 Śankar says काळः दक्षयतोमित्यापुर्गणनामकः संवर्त-  
 णात्यायुःस्वरूपः काळ उक्तः स च शिरिमत्तायुपि भीषि सति भीयने भज्ञ तु प्रशास-  
 न्महो क्षयः काळ उक्तो हृषि विक्षेपः. This furnishes a passable explanation.

† Garnd.

‡ The son of Dasarath.

§ St. 20 (line 1280) refers to the animate creation only. This verbo  
 to everything—Śankar.

¶ Śridhar says, वाइसु शिवामयोः शिष्याचार्योस्तसानेक्षणकः तुलीसी  
 अष्टुतान्तरिक्षमूर्तिः.

# Mr. Thomson's rendering of this is quite incorrect.

₹ कर्मकर्त्तव्यकर्त्ता. मध्ये विष्वेषुद्यो धन्त उक्तयैक्यात्मिकात्माहमेष्वरः—  
 Sridhar. See Chap. XI. St. 11 (line 1390) and note there.

That seizes all I am. I am the source  
 Of what's to be.\* I am fame, and fortune, speech,  
 And memory, and patience, intellect,  
 And perseverance among females.† So  
 Among Sām-hymns the Brīhatstotram I am.  
 Among the metres I am Gāyatrī.  
 I am the Mārgasīrsha among the months.  
 The spring among the seasons. I am the game  
 Of dice of cheats. And of the glorious  
 I am the glory. I am victory,  
 I am industry, the goodness of the good.  
 I am Vīśudav among the Vṛishṇis. I  
 Among the Pāṇḍavas am the Conqueror  
 Of wealth. Among the Munis I am Vyāsa.  
 I am the discerning Us'anas of those  
 Who have discernment. Among teachers I am  
 The rod.‡ I am the polity§ of those  
 That wish for victory. Silence I am  
 'Mongst secrets.'|| And the knowledge I am of those  
 Who knowledge have attained. Whatever's the seed  
 Of Arjun! of all beings, that I am.  
 Nothing there is, or moveable or fixed,  
 Which ■ without me. Slayer of foes! no end

\* Śankar says एष सद्गुरुः सत्यादिरेत्युक्तं कौरा भारिकन्दकानामुद्देश्ये-  
 प्राप्तिवीर्यानामित्ययैः. With him Śridhar and Medhavedan concur.

† ... एता उच्चासः लीकायद्योदितं यस्तथाभास्यादसंप्रवृत्तयै लीकाः  
 कृतार्थास्यान् दस्यन्ति—Śankar.

‡ अदान्ताना इमनामारणम् says Śankar. ऐनांस्या यदि संसार भावित त  
 इत्यु महिम्भूतेः Śridhar.

§ सम्पूर्णस्फुल says Śridhar.

|| न दि तूली विष्टस्त्वाधिकार्ये दास्यते says Śridhar.

There's of my emanations glorious.  
 Here their extent is but in part declared  
 By me. Whatever thing there is of power,  
 Glorious, or splendid, know all that to be  
 From portions of my energy produced.  
 Or rather, Arjan ! what hast thou to do  
 With this variety of knowledge ? I  
 Do stand, supporting all this universe  
 By but a single portion of myself.

## Chapter XI.

**Arjuna.** Gone now is my delusion by the words  
 Momentous and mysterious, which thou hast  
 Spoken for my behoof, and which concern  
 The Adhyatma.\* I have heard from thee ■ large,  
 Oh lotus-eyed one ! of the birth and death  
 Of beings, and about thy greatness, too,  
 Imperishable. All, Oh Highest Lord !  
 That thou hast stated now about thyself,  
 ■ so. But still, Oh Best of Beings ! I  
 Desire to see thy mighty form divine.  
 If thou, Oh Lord ! shouldst think me capable  
 Of looking on it, show thyself to me  
 Lord of Devotion ! inexhaustible.

**Krishna.** In hundreds and in thousands see my forms,  
 Oh Pṛithī's son ! all various and divine,  
 Of various colours, and of various shapes.

\* Literally, "called the Adhyatma," but the commentators seem to  
 ■ correct in their interpretation which is followed above—भाष्यात्मकम्॥१॥  
 कृष्ण शुक्रं शुक्रः शुक्रः शुक्रः शुक्रः शुक्रः शुक्रः शुक्रः शुक्रः शुक्रः

The Rudras, Vasus, and the Adityas,  
 The As'vins, as well as the Maruts, see.  
 Off-spring of Bharat! many a wonder see  
 Unseen before. Now the whole universe,  
 Moving and fixed, observe here all in one,  
 Within my body, and Lord of sleep! whatever  
 Else too thou dost desire to see. But Oh!  
 Not with this eye alone of thine wilt thou  
 Be capable of looking at me. I  
 Give thee an eye divine. Do thou now see  
 My godly mystic power.\*

**Sanjaya.** Then, Oh king!  
 The great Lord of Devotion, Hari, thus  
 Having said, showed to Pṛithā's son his form—  
 Supreme, divine, with many a mouth and eye,  
 Presenting many a wondrous sight, bedecked  
 With many a heavenly ornament, and wielding  
 Many a heavenly weapon, wearing flowers  
 And vestments heavenly, with heavenly perfumes  
 Anointed, full of wonders—the infinite  
 Deity with faces turned to every side.†  
 If in the Heavens all at once burst forth  
 The brilliance of a thousand suns, it would  
 Be to the brilliance of that mighty one  
 A parallel. Then Pāṇḍu's son beheld,  
 There in the body of the God of gods,  
 All in one place, the universe complete,  
 Divided variously.‡ The Conqueror

\* Compare Chap. IX. St. 5 (line 1114) and note there.

† Compare Chap. IX. St. 15 (line 1147). Here, too, S'aukar says  
 अपर्युग्मं सर्वभूतेनात्.

‡ I. e. in its various divisions as gods, manes, men, and so forth—  
 S'aukar.

Of wealth, them filled with great astonishment,  
His hair standing on end, bowed to the God  
With the head, and joining hands, thus spake:—  
**Arjun.**

I see

Oh God! within thy body all the gods,  
As well as numbers of the various beings ;  
Seated upon a lotus-throne, the Lord  
Brahma; the sages; and the snakes divine.  
With many a stomach, mouth, and arm, and eye,  
I see thee on all sides, of countless forms.

Oh Lord of all, of every form ! thy end,  
Thy middle, thy beginning, I see not.  
I see thee with the diadem, the mace,  
The discus too—a mass of splendour bright  
On every side, and hard to look upon ;  
All round as brilliant as a blazing fire,  
Or as the sun, immeasurable. Thou  
The Indestructible, the Supreme One  
That's to be known; thou the support supreme\*  
Of the universe; thou the inexhaustible  
Protector of everlasting piety.†

The eternal person dost thou seem to me.  
I see thee, of beginning, middle, end,  
Devoid; of power infinite; with arms  
Unnumbered; with sun and moon for thy eyes;  
With mouths like to a blazing fire; and heating  
By thy own splendour all this universe.  
The interspace betwixt the earth and sky,  
And all the quarters too, dost thou pervade

\* निर्वातं परमात्मय इत्यर्थः says S'ankar. प्रसूतात्मपुः says Sridhar. But see St. 36 (line 1500) and Chap. IX. St. 19 (line 1160).

† Compare Chapter IV. 7 (line 523).

Oh mighty one! looking upon this form  
 Of thine, miraculous and terrible,  
 Frightened are the three worlds. For here these bands  
 Of gods do enter thee;\* some frightened pray  
 With joined hands; companies of sages great  
 And Siddhas crying "Hail" praise thee with hymns  
 Expressive.† The Âdityas, the Sâdhyas too,  
 The Rudras, Vasus, Vis'vas, and the Winds,  
 The Ushmaps, Yakshas, and the Gandharvas,  
 The Asurs, and the Siddhas, all amazed  
 Look at thee. Looking on thy mighty form,  
 With many a mouth and eye, Oh large-armed one!  
 With many an arm, and stomach, thigh, and foot,  
 Fearful with many a jaw, soraly afraid  
 Are all the worlds as well as I. At sight  
 Of thee, Oh Vishnu! with eyes blazing, large,  
 With mouth wide open, and with numerous hues,  
 Brilliant, the Heavens touching, I retain  
 No courage, no tranquillity, afraid  
 Much in my inmost soul. Looking upon  
 Thy faces, dreadful with the jaws, and like  
 The last Fire of Destruction, pleasure none  
 I feel, the quarters cannot recognise.  
 Oh Lord of gods pervading the universe  
 Have mercy! All these Dhritarâshtra's sons,  
 Together also with the crowds of kings,  
 Bhishma, and Dron, this charioteer's son too,  
 Hastening together with our champions chief,

\* प्रतिशृङ्खला दुर्घटना says Sankar. अरणं प्रतिशृङ्खला नित् says Sridhar, unne-  
 cessarily, I think.

† पुष्करामिः संपूर्णामिः says Sankar. पुष्करामिः परिपूर्णामिः says Ma-  
 dhushûdan.

Into thy mouth, horrific\* by thy jaws,  
 And fearful, enter. Some appear with heads  
 All smashed within the spaces 'twixt the teeth  
 Stuck down. As flow towards the sea alone,  
 The volumes of the rivers' waters fierce,  
 So do these heroes of the human world  
 Enter thy blazing mouths.† As butterflies  
 With force increased‡ enter a blazing fire  
 To be destroyed, even so to be destroyed  
 These men with force increased enter thy mouths.  
 Devouring all the people from all sides,  
 Thou lickst them over and over with thy mouths  
 Blazing. Oh Vishnu! thy fierce splendours heat  
 The universe, filling it with their rays.  
 Tell me who thou art with this awful form.  
 My salutations be to thee, Oh first  
 Of gods! have mercy! I desire to know  
 Thee the Primeval one, for Oh thy deeds  
 I understand not.

**Krishna.** I am Death, I am he  
 Who causes the destruction of the worlds,  
 Developed,§ and am now engaged about  
 The overthrow of the worlds. Without thee even,  
 The warriors in the adverse hosts arrayed  
 Will cease to be. Therefore be up, obtain  
 Glory, and conquering thy enemies,

\* विकृनामि says Sridhar. Horrible by reason of the ruggedness and distortion.

† Compare Chap XI. 21 (line 1438).

‡ समुद्रं चक्षुः says Sankar. यज्ञार्थं समुद्रः says Sridhar.

§ मधुसूदनः say Sankar and Madhusudan. मधुरः मधुसूदनः says Sridhar.

Enjoy a prosperous kingdom. I have myself  
 Already killed them, Savyasachin !<sup>\*</sup> be  
 Merely the instrument. Drop. Bhishma, and Karna,  
 Jayadrath, and all other warriors too,  
 Heroic, do then kill—all killed by me.  
 Be not distressed; do fight; and in the field  
 Thou shalt defeat thy foes.

**Sanjaya.** Hearing these words  
 Of Kes'av, with joined hands, the crowned one  
 Trembling, with salutations, once more spoke  
 To Kṛishna, overwhelmed with fright, his throat choked up,  
 Bowing.

**Arjun.** Oh Lord of minds, by thy renown  
 Attracted and delighted is the world—  
 Fitly. In all directions frightened fly  
 The demons, and the hosts of Siddhas too  
 Salute thee all. Why should they not salute  
 Thee, Higher than Brahma, First Cause of him too ?  
 Oh Infinite High-minded one ! Oh Lord  
 Of gods, who dost pervade the Universe !  
 Thou the Indestructible one, that which is,  
 That which is not, and that which is beyond.†  
 Thou art the primal lord, the ancient Being.

\* Arjun, so called as he could shoot arrows with his left hand, सुधैरेन वामेन दाखिनं कारन्त्यथातुं शीर्जे यस्त्—Śridhar.

† Śridhar says सहजकमसक्षकं च वामा परम्. Madhusūdana सुधैरेप्युक्तेन  
 प्रनीप्यमानमस्तीति । यस्तिवेभ्युक्तेन वलीयमानं नास्तीति ॥ यस्ता सहजकमस-  
 क्षकं तमैश्च तस्य तथ्यर्थ वामा. सहजकमस्क्षकं परं गूढवारणं वदत्वरं वद्य तदीय तदै-  
 र तद्विज्ञ विमर्श नास्तीत्यर्थः ॥ Śankar's comments are not quite clear.

Thou art the last receptacle of this world,\*  
 Thou art the subject, thou the object,† thou  
 The final goal, Oh polymorphous one!  
 'Tis thou pervadest all. Thou art the Wind,  
 Thou Yam, Fire, Sea, Moon, and the sire of men,  
 And thou the great grandsire. A thousand times  
 Obeisance be to thee, and yet again  
 Obeisance to thee! In front, from behind,  
 Obeisance be to thee, from every side!  
 Thou all! Thou art of power infinite,  
 Of glory unmeasured! All dost thou pervade,  
 Therefore art all! Whatever was said by me  
 Contemptuously, taking thee to be  
 My friend—"Oh Kṛishṇa," "Oh Yādav," or "Oh friend!"—  
 Not knowing this thy greatness, or from want  
 Of caution,‡ or through friendship; and whatever  
 Dishonour I did thee in mirth, what time  
 We sported, sat together, ate our food,  
 Or took repose, sometimes in company§  
 Sometimes alone, Oh Undegraded one!  
 For that I do apologize to thee,  
 The unbounded one. Of all this universe,  
 Moving and fixed, thou art the father, thou  
 Its great and venerable Lord. To thee

\* Compare St. ॥ (lin 1424). Sankar says निर्भीषतेरिमऽग्रम्भर्ता  
महाप्रकल्पादी. Sridhar has उपस्थान.

† I use subject and object in something like the philosophical sense, as meaning the knower and the known.

‡ निर्विज्ञनव्य says Sankar.

§ Sankar says तन्मयं तत्त्वदः किणविषेषाच्. Sridhar says (after explaining इवः by सर्वोभिन्नाः) सर्वमयं तैर्वा परिहरता तर्हीनां समधम्; with this Madhusūdana agrees.

No equal is, matchless in power throughout  
 All the three worlds. Whence can there be a greater ?  
 Therefore I bow ■ thee, prostrate myself,  
 And would propitiate thee, Praiseworthy one !  
 Oh be thou pleased, Oh Lord ! to pardon me,  
 Even as a father does his son, a friend  
 His friend, or as a husband his beloved.  
 Seeing this form, unseen before, I feel  
 Delight, but also fear overpowers my heart.  
 Be pleased, Oh world-pervading Lord of gods !  
 Lord ! show me that same form. I wish to see  
 Thee with the mace and diadem, wheel in hand.  
 That same fourhanded form, Oh all-formed one !  
 Oh thousand-handed God ! once more assume.

**Krishna.** Oh Arjun ! pleased, I have now shown to thee  
 Through my power mystic\* this my shape supreme—  
 Glorious, and universal, infinite,  
 Primal, and seen before by none but thee.  
 Not by the study of the Veds, nor yet  
 Of sacrifices,† not by alms, not acts,  
 Nor yet by rigid penances, can I  
 Be seen, Oh bravest of the Kurus ! here  
 Upon this world of mortals, in this form,  
 By any one but thee. Be not distressed,  
 Be not perplexed, seeing this form of mine,

\* दीर्घ again. Compare Chap. VII. St. 25 (line 980).

† S'ankar says वेदा (Oalo. Ed. यजा) धर्मनिरेक यज्ञाध्ययनस्य सिद्धलाङ्गुष्ठ-  
 यज्ञाध्ययनभृतं कर्त्तव्यान्ते उक्तार्थम्. So too S'rividhar वेदाध्ययनम्भृते देवेष  
 यज्ञाध्ययनस्याभासाद्युक्तामेव यज्ञानिराकाशं कर्मसूत्राण्य उभ्यन्वे रेतानां यज्ञानिराकाशं  
 यज्ञाध्ययनैरभर्त्यः. A suspicion, however, occurs to one's mind. Is not  
 यज्ञाध्ययनैः meant? And see St. 53 (line 1570).

So dreadful. Free from fear and with pleased heart,  
See once more now that same old form of mine.

**Sanjaya.** Having said thus to Arjun, then, the son  
Of Vasudev showed once more his own form.  
And the Great One once more in gentle shape  
Comforted him so frightened.

**Arjun.** Seeing now  
This shape of thine, Janardan ! human, mild,  
I have come to my right mind, and have returned  
To my state normal.

**Krishna.** Difficult to see\*  
Is this form of mine which thou hast now seen,  
Even the gods do constantly desire  
To see it. Not by penance, not by alms,  
Not by the Veda, not by the sacrifice,  
Can I be seen as thou hast seen me now.  
But 'tis by worship fixed on me alone,  
Oh Arjun ! that I can be truly known,  
Seen and amalgamated with,† Oh slayer,  
Of foes ! in this shape. He, Oh Pāṇḍu's son !  
Who acts performs for me, to whom I am  
The highest object, who's my devotee,  
Free from attachments, and from hatred free  
Towards all beings, he to me does come.

### Chapter XIII.

**Arjun.** Of all the worshippers who meditate  
On thee, devoted always thee, and those

\* I. e. difficult to get a sight of.

† अस्य नामं मम् स' वक्ता, अस्य विद्वान् स' विद्वा.

Who on the Indestructible, Unseen,  
Do meditate, which know devotion best ?

**Krishna.** By me are those the most devoted deemed,  
Who with the highest faith imbued, their minds  
Steadying on me, worship me, constantly  
Devoted. Those, upon the other hand,  
Who bridling all the senses, equable  
Throughout, intent upon the good of all,  
Worship the Indestructible, Unseen,  
Ineffable, which doth all permeate,  
Uuthinkable, indifferent,<sup>o</sup> and fixed,  
And changeless, come to me. For those whose minds  
Are ■ the Unseen attached, greater's the toil,  
Because the goal unseen<sup>f</sup> is hard to reach  
For the embodied ones. But ■ those men  
Who worship me, upon me meditating  
With a devotion towards me alone,  
Who offering up to me their every act,<sup>g</sup>  
Give themselves up to me, Oh Prithî's son !  
And who still fix their minds upon me, I  
Without delay stand the deliverer  
Out of the ocean of the mortal world.  
On me alone place thou thy mind, on me  
Thy resolution fix, in me alone

\* The original is अद्वैत् on which S'ridhar says नहीं माया-  
परमे अभिभावनेत्वस्तस्मै, which follows Sankar's interpretation.  
The other meaning which is expressed by the word 'indifferent' vis.  
अविकल्प, or passively looking on, is also stated by Sankar.

+ अद्वैतिक says Sankar i. e. The Indestructible. अव्यक्तिवद्य ग-  
विकल्प says S'ridhar i. e. firm adherence to the Unseen. Madhusû-  
dan agrees with Sankar and renders नहीं ये अन्तर्बोध कर्त्तव्य वद्य.

† Compare Chapter III. St. 30 (line 46).

Wilt thou reside hereafter,\* there's no doubt.  
 But if thou canst not firmly fix thy mind  
 Upon me, then, Oh Conqueror of wealth !  
 By the devotion of repeated thought,†  
 Endeavour to attain to me. If, too,  
 Thou art unequal to repeated thought,  
 Then be intent exclusively on acts  
 For me ; because thou wilt perfection reach  
 Even acts for me performing. If again  
 Thou art unequal to this too, forsake  
 All fruit of action, being self-restrained,  
 To me alone devoted.‡ Knowledge is  
 Superior to repeated thought ; above  
 Knowledge is meditation valued ; more  
 Than meditation is the abandonment  
 Of fruit of acts ; from that abandonment  
 Results tranquillity. That devotee  
 Of mine is dear to me, who's friendly, kind,  
 Who hates no creature, to whom "mine" is not,  
 Who is from egoism free, and equable  
 In pain and pleasure, patient, self-restrained,  
 Always devoted, and contented, firm  
 In his determinations, with his mind  
 And faculty of fixed resolve on me  
 Concentrated. He through whom never the world

\* भासमना वासं करिष्यते S'ridhar and Madhusūdana.

† Compare Chap. VIII. St. 8 (line 1025). S'aukar says पितृस्ये-  
 करिमज्जालऽस्मि सर्वतः समाहृत्य युन्मुनः स्थापनमग्यासस्तर्तुवी योगः समाधानलक्षणः.  
 S'ridhar and Madhusūdana concur.

‡ मयोगमारियते यति दिग्यमाणानि कर्माणि संन्यस्य यन्करणं तेषामनुष्टुप्तं मठीग-  
 अमाधिनः—Sankar. S'ridhar says यत्परं यदेहत्तरणम्. Madhusūdana,  
 as usual, combines both explanations.

Is agitated, whom the world too never  
 Does agitate, who's free from joy wrath fear  
 And perturbation, he is dear to me.  
 That devotee of mine, who is unconcerned,  
 Pure, wise, impartial, free from all distress,  
 Who doth renounce all acts for fruit,\* he's dear  
 To me. He who rejoices not nor hates,†  
 Grieves not, does not desire, abandoning  
 Good and ill,‡ worships me, is dear to me.  
 Alike with respect and with disrespect,§  
 Alike to friend and foe, alike in heat  
 And cold, in pleasure and in pain, quite free  
 From all attachments, taking blame and praise  
 As equal, talking little, satisfied  
 With anything, homeless, of steady mind,  
 The man who worships me is dear to me.  
 And those, too, of my worshippers who taste  
 This holy nectar as thus shown above,  
 Imbued with faith, and given up to me  
 As the highest object, they are most dear to me.

### Chapter XIII.||

**Krishna.** This frame is called the Kshetra, Oh Kunti's son !  
 And learned persons call him who knows this  
**The Kshetrajna.** And, offspring of Bharat ! know

\* Compare Chap. IV St. 19 (line 538); 'for fruit' is not in the original but must be supplied.

† Compare Chap. II. St. 53 et seq. (line 310 et seq).

‡ Comp. Chap. IX. St. 28 (line 1197).

§ I. e., Unmoved whether he is respected or the reverse.

|| The relation of this Chapter with what has gone before is thus stated by Sankar. In the seventh Chapter, two forms of the Supreme Being have been stated, by means of which he acts as the

I am the Kshetrajna in all Kshetras. I  
 Do think the knowledge of Kshetrajna and Kshetra  
 To be true knowledge. Hear from me in brief  
 What this Kshetra is, what it is like, what change  
 It undergoes, from what it comes; and what  
 Is he, what are his powers:—all which is sung  
 By sages variously in various hymns,  
 With all distinctions, and in passages,  
 Teaching the Brahma, settled, argued out.  
 The elements, and egoism, fixed resolve,  
 And the unseen, the senses ten, the one,  
 The five sense-objects, hatred, and desire,  
 Pleasure, pain, body, courage, consciousness,  
 Thus is described the Kshetra, accompanied

creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe. Now in this Chapter, the truth about the Supreme Being is to be expounded, and as a means to that, the two forms of Kshetra and Kshetrajna are explained. Sridhar observes, that Krishna has said already that he delivers his worshippers from this mortal world. Now such a deliverance cannot be effected without real knowledge of the soul. Therefore to communicate that knowledge is the object of this Chapter, in which matter and spirit are distinguished from each other. Madhusudan, as we have already observed on sundry occasions, combines the two explanations into one.

\* 'Sages'—Vasishtha and others, says Sankar. Sridhar and Madhusudan add वेदान्तसंग्रहीय. 'Variously'—in various ways—Sankar. Sridhar says, "as the object of meditation &c., in the form Vairaj &c." 'Various hymns,'—hymns from the Veds, concerning ordinary and extraordinary actions, actions with special desires &c.—Sridhar. 'Passages &c.,'—पद्म refers to those that indicate generally, and पद to those that describe specifically, the Brahma—Sankar and Sridhar. 'Argued out,' applies, according to Sridhar, to passages like कथमस्तः सत्यापेत् or कौटुमान्यतः प्रप्यन् &c.

With changes, briefly.\* Absence of vanity  
 Of ostentation and of hurtfulness,  
 Patience, straight-forwardness, devotedness  
 To a preceptor, firmness, purity,  
 And self-restraint, towards objects of sense  
 Indifference, absence of egoism,  
 Perception of the evil of birth and death  
 And age and sickness and distress,† release  
 From all attachments, disregard of son,  
 Wife, home,‡ and constant equability  
 Upon the approach of good or evil, of me  
 Worship exclusive with a firm resolve,§  
 Frequenting lonely places, and distaste  
 Of men's society, and constancy  
 About the knowledge of the Atman,|| thought

\* Compare Chapter VII. St. 4 (line 908 of seq.) and the Sankhya Sutras Chap. I. Sutra 61. Sankhya Sutra II. 13. shows the meaning which the word दुर्लभ has in the Sankhya system. 'The one' is the mind. Sridhar says एते वैचारदये दृश्यताजात्पर्याप्तां भवि ॥ मनीषमां भवः—  
 द्विवानः पानिन इ । उत्तरधृणं वैतस्तंकलादीनाम्; with this Madhusudan, and we may add, Sankar agree.

† This is the first step towards दैरप्य or indifference to worldly enjoyments. Sankar suggests another interpretation in which दुःख and दीप (evil and distress) would be in apposition—दुःखादैप्रदीपः—which is probably better than the one adopted in the text. Sridhar also proposes अन्यादिपु दुःखदोषदोरमुद्धर्यन्यम्.

‡ Compare Chap. XII St. 19 (line 1645).

§ Comp. Chap. XIV. St. 26 (line 1848) also XII. 6 (line 1626). अनश्चयागेन Sankar renders by अनश्चयसमाप्तिना. Madhusudan says नाश्चयो भगवती नाशुद्विगतरौस्त्वतः क्ष एव नी यन्तरिक्षे निष्पत्तेन.

|| I. e. knowledge about the soul and so forth—Sankar. Compare Chap. XV. 5 (line 1870).

About the benefits of knowledge true\*—

This is called knowledge, what conflicts with this  
Is ignorance. What's to be known I will say,  
Which known one reaches immortality.

The Highest Brahma, which has no beginning,  
Which can't be said to be or not to be.†  
On all sides it has hands and feet, on all  
Eyes, heads, and faces, and on all sides ears;  
It stands pervading all. Possessed of all  
The qualities of all the senses, still  
Devoid of all the senses; unattached;  
Supporting all; devoid of qualities  
Yet their supporter; 'tis without, within  
All creatures; moving and immoveable;  
Through subtlety unknowable; it stands  
Afar and near; not different, in things,  
It still stands as though different. And this thing,

---

\* By this thought, says Sankar, there results the effort to acquire the knowledge.

† Sankar says that words express meanings by indicating class, a quality, an action, or a relation, but none of these is possible in the case of the Brahma; and therefore neither the word सत् nor the word असत् can be applied to it. Sridhar says मुक्तेन प्रमाणय विद्यते सत्त्वदेवोऽसत्त्वे भिरविषयत्वात्तदेव भीच्छते हते यु तु मनुष्यानि. लक्खणमणिप्रसादिसर्वपूर्वः; with this Madhusudan agrees. See Chapter IX. St ■ (line 1164) and XI. ■ (line 1507). The difference between those passages and this is, that in this the application of the term सत् and असत् to the Brahma is denied, while in those the Brahma is identified with both सत् and असत्. Mr. Thomson reconciles the two by saying that the Brahma cannot be called either, because it is both. The expression सत्त्वासत्त्वाम्यामेवचनीय which in effect means the same thing as the expression under discussion, is frequently used to designate the 'Maya.' See on the whole passage Notes and Illustrations.

It should be known, supports all things that are,  
 Devours, and does create them. It's the light  
 Even of the brilliant bodies, and is said  
 To be beyond all darkness. Knowledge 'tis,  
 The object too of knowledge, and the goal  
 To be attained by knowledge, placed in the heart  
 Of every one. Thus have I spoken in brief  
 Of Kshetra, of knowledge, and of object too.  
 My devotee discerning this becomes  
 Fit to be one with me.\* Nature and spirit,  
 Know both to be without beginning, know  
 Also that Nature doth produce as well  
 The emanations as the qualities.†  
 Nature is said to be the power that makes  
 The body and the senses work, and spirit  
 Is said to be the power through which are felt  
 Pleasure and pain.‡ For spirit with Nature joined  
 Enjoys the effects that from the qualities

\* I. e. to attain 'Moksha' or final emancipation.

† The emanations (प्रभावः), according to Sankar, are शुद्धजाति, अशुद्धजाति, and the qualities (ज्योतिः) सुखदःसंयोगसम्बन्धारपरिपक्षाः. In this Sridhar concurs. The two include, therefore, the body, as well subtle as gross, and the various feelings and so forth.

‡ 'The body and the senses.'—I thus render कर्मसारथ, following the commentators. The ordinary sense of that expression will not do, for what can be the कर्म (working or activity) of a कर्म (effect)? 'Is said to be,' say by Kapil and others; says Sridhar. The notion that activity is all due to 'Nature' and not to the soul has occurred before in the Gita. See *inter alia* Chap. III. St. 27 (line 452). Enjoy-  
 ment here is not the function of dead matter but of the soul.

Of Nature\* flow. And the connection 'tis  
 With qualities, that brings about its births  
 In good or evil wombs. The Being Supreme  
 Within this frame is called the supervisor,  
 The mentor, the supporter, the great lord,  
 The enjoyer, and the soul supreme. Whoever  
 Thus knows spirit, Nature, and the qualities,  
 Is never again born, in whatever way  
 He may have lived.† By meditation some  
 Behold the soul in themselves by themselves ;  
 Others see by the Sankhya-yog; and some  
 See by the Karmayog;‡ and others yet  
 Who learn not in this way, from others hearing,  
 Worship perform, and hearing steadily.§  
 They also cross beyond the reach of death,  
 Prince of the Bhāratas! And whatever thing  
 Immoveable or moveable is produced,  
 Know thou, 'tis from the union of Kshetra  
 And Kshetrajna. He sees who sees the Lord  
 Supreme, alike in all existences,  
 And undestroyed himself though they be all!

\* By the qualities (गुण) are meant here their manifestations — गुणःक्षयः &c. as in line 1706. Hence we have rendered the simple word गुण in the original by 'effects of qualities.' In the next line qualities is interpreted by Sridhar to mean 'senses.' This seems, however, unnecessary, though it is the result involved in the proposition: The qualities lead to action good and bad, and that leads to birth — good and bad womb.

† Comp. Chap. VI. St. 31 (line 844). 'In whatever way'—though he may have transgressed rules, says Sridhar.

‡ See Notes and Illustrations.

§ With faith, from preceptors, says Sankar.

Destroyed; because seeing the Lord alike  
 Present in all things, one does not oneself  
 Destroy one's soul,<sup>a</sup> then to the seat supreme  
 Proceeds. He sees who sees all acts performed  
 By Nature, and his soul not working. When  
 One looks upon all separate entities  
 As in one thing existing,<sup>f</sup> and on all  
 As emanating from that one alone,  
 Then one the Brahma attains.<sup>f</sup> This soul Supreme  
 Oh Kunti's son! being inexhaustible,  
 Without beginning, void of qualities,  
 Even in the body works not, is not stained.  
 As through its subtlety space is not stained,  
 Though all-pervading, even so the soul,  
 Though present in all bodies, is not stained.  
 As lights up all this world the sun alone,  
 So does the Kshetrajna light up this Kshetra,  
 Offspring of Bharat! Those who, by the eye  
 Of knowledge, see this difference between  
 Kshetra and Kshetrajna, and the release of beings  
 From Nature,<sup>g</sup> they attain to the Supreme.

\* Not to have true self-knowledge is here regarded as a sort of self-destruction, and he who sees the Supreme Being in everything escapes this self-destruction, because he has true knowledge of the soul. Comp. Sankar on Isavasyopanishad St. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Sridhar says:—"existing in one thing"—at the time of the deluge, existing absorbed in Nature which is one of the powers of God. "Emanating"—at the time of creation.

<sup>f</sup> As Sankar remarks, this is again a restatement of the same doctrine as that laid down in the preceding lines. When one sees that all ■ Brahma, and that every individual thing we see is but an emanation of that Brahma and nothing else, then, one attains Brahma.

<sup>g</sup> Sankar and the other commentators say on this:—मनानि प्रकृति-रविश्वालक्षणाद्यत्तात्पर तस्या मूलप्रकृतीयोऽप्यमभावमन्यम्. Comp. Chap. VII. St. 14 (line 240).

## Chapter XIV.

**Krishna.** Further I will declare to thee the best—  
 The highest—sort of knowledge, which obtained,  
 All sages reach perfection, being freed  
 From this life.<sup>\*</sup> They being by this knowledge helped,  
 Assume my qualities; they are not born  
 At the creation, do not suffer pain†  
 At the destruction. The great Brahma‡ is  
 A womb for me, in which I cast the seed.  
 From that, offspring of Bharat! are then born  
 All things that are. The bodies which, Oh son  
 Of Kunti! are produced from all the wombs,  
 Have for their womb this great Brahma, and I am  
 Their father—giver of the seed. Produced  
 From Nature, large-armed one! the qualities—  
 Goodness, Indifference, and Badness too—  
 Within the body do bind down the soul,§  
 Embodied, inexhaustible. Of these,  
 Goodness being pure, enlightening, free from pain,  
 The soul, Oh sinless one! with knowledge binds

\* For 'being freed from this life' the original has 'hence' which S'ankar explains by 'after the [end of the] confluence ■ this body.'

† The pain, namely, of repetition of births.

‡ Brahma here means the व्यक्ति 'Nature,' which has been spoken of before.

§ I. e., according to S'ridhar "brings the soul into contact with pleasure and pain and illusion and so forth, which are the effects of the qualities."

And happiness.\* Indifference, know thou,  
 Consists in being charmed,† and that—the cause  
 Of craving and attachment—Kunti's son!  
 With action the embodied soul binds down.‡  
 Badness, know thou, is born of ignorance,  
 And the deluder of all creatures; that  
 Oh Bharat's child! binds down with laziness,  
 And heedlessness, and sleep.§ Goodness unites  
 With happiness; with action, Bharat's child!  
 Indifference; while Badness doth unite  
 With heedlessness, all knowledge wrapping up.  
 Indifference and Badness lying low,  
 Offspring of Bharat! Goodness then doth stand;  
 Indifference and Goodness being thus,  
 Badness; and when Goodness and Badness are  
 Such, then Indifference. When in this frame  
 At all its portals, is the light produced  
 Of knowledge, then should one know Goodness there  
 Prevailing. When Indifference prevails,  
 Prince of the Bhāratis! then are avarice

\* That is to say, a person in whom this first quality predominates acquires knowledge, and gets all worldly happiness, and calmness,—for that ■ the meaning of भन्नमय 'free from pain,' according to S'ridhar.

† Here I follow S'ridhar and Madhusūdana. S'ankar says निरकालेष्वदा-  
ग्रस्मकम्—the appropriateness of which I cannot clearly perceive.

‡ A man in whom this quality predominates is full of desires for all sorts of things which he has not, and is strongly attached to those which he has. And thus he is ever given up to exertions for acquiring new things, or preserving those which he has acquired.

§ प्रसाद (heedlessness) says S'ridhar means भन्नवधन 'inattention'; आलश्य (laziness) means भन्नमय (absence of work and activity); and मिद्रा (sleep) विचर्षणसाधी छपः (drooping or cessation of intellect).

Activity, performance of acts too,  
 Attachment, and want of tranquillity,\*  
 Produced. Whereas when Badness does prevail,  
 Oh Kanti's son ! absence of light and work,†  
 Delusion, and heedlessness, are produced.  
 If Goodness being prevalent, one dies,  
 One then attains the stainless worlds of those  
 Who know the Highest;‡ If Indifference,  
 One ■ then born 'mongst those who are attached  
 To acts. And one that under Badness dies,  
 Is born within the wombs of the ignorant.  
 They say the fruit of actions good is pure,  
 And of the quality of Goodness ; pain  
 The fruit is of Indifference ; the fruit  
 Of Badness ignorance. From Goodness flows  
 Knowledge; as also from Indifference  
 Flows avarice ; from Badness, ignorance,  
 Heedlessness, and delusion. Up those go  
 Who stick to Goodness ; in the middle stop  
 Those of the quality of Indifference ;  
 And those go downwards whose behaviour  
 Is of the lowest quality. What time  
 The seer sees no one but the qualities

\* 'Activity' (प्रवृत्ति) Sridhar explains by नियते कुरुते पक्षा "always doing something or another," 'performance of acts' (कर्त्तव्यामरणः) he exemplifies by 'rearing up large mannions &c.' 'attachment' (स्वाप्त) is desire to get everything that is seen ; want of tranquillity (भव्यत) he renders by perpetual agitation of mind—"this I will do now, and then that, and then the other."

† Absence of work (भास्यति) doing nothing ■ all. अन्यन्तमधृतिः:- Sridhar.

‡ I. e. Hiranyagarbha and so forth, says Sridhar. The elements such as महत् &c.—Sankar. Madhusūdana agrees with Sridhar.

As agents,\* and knows that which is above  
 The qualities, into my essence then  
 He comes. And when the embodied soul transcends  
 All these three qualities from which are born  
 All bodies,† then is it from birth and death  
 And age and pain relieved, and then attains  
 To immortality.

**Arjun.** What are the marks,  
 Oh Lord! of one who these three qualities  
 Transcends, what is his conduct, how does he  
 Transcend all these three qualities.‡

**Krishna.** He's said

To have transcended the three qualities,  
 Oh Pippal's son! who hates not when they come  
 Light, and delusion, and activity §  
 And does not wish for them when they are not;  
 Who standing like one unconcerned is never  
 Shaken by the qualities,|| who never moves¶

\* Again the oft-repeated item. Seer is simply one who sees.

† As to 'transcending the qualities' compare *inter alia* line 271, त्रैसम्पूर्णान् is by the commentators interpreted as equivalent to त्रै-वाचनविभूषान्—Sridhar says that त्रै is the परिषय (development) of the qualities.

‡ Sridhar says that this question and its answer are a repetition in another form of what has been said about a विषय in Chapter II.

§ These are respectively the effects of the three qualities. They are according to Sridhar only indications, and all the respective effects are to be understood here. Mr. Thomson erroneously takes them to stand for the qualities themselves.

|| I. e. so as to lose all discrimination—Shankar. 'Qualities' stands for the effects of the qualities, pleasure, pain &c. says Sridhar here as before.

¶ त्रैसम्पूर्ण एव भावे says Shankar, त्रै विभूषने says Madhusudan, त्रै विभूषि says Sridhar. It seems to mean "never deviates from the

But ever is steady, thinking the qualities  
 Exist;\* who is calm; to whom pleasure and pain  
 And gold, stone, sod are all alike; to whom  
 Equal are things as well disliked as liked;  
 To whom both praise and censure of himself  
 Are equal; who towards the side of friends  
 Or foes, in honour or dishonour too,  
 Is still alike; and who all acts forsakes;  
 And he who with devotion worships me—  
 Devotion all-exclusive†—he transcends  
 These qualities, and fits himself to be  
 One with the Brahna. I the image am‡  
 Of the Brahna, and of immortality  
 All inexhaustible, of piety  
 Eterne, and of unbroken happiness

## Chapter XV.

**Krishna.** They say the As'vattha inexhaustible§  
 Grows with its roots above, its boughs below;  
 The Ohandas are its leaves; whoever it knows  
 Both know the Veda. Upwards and downwards too,

\* Comp. Ill. 28. (line 456) with which S'ankar likens this completely by supplying अर्द्धन्यस्मिन्. Mr. Thomson thinks the two differ, but I do not see the distinction he draws.

† Most of the elements making up this passage are noted elsewhere. Compare Chap. II. St. 56 *et seq.* Chap. V. St. 20, VI. 7, 8, 9, VII. 14, XII. 13 *et seq.*

‡ आङ्गदा (image) is thus explained by B'riddhar करिता यात्रा वनी भूते ब्रह्मतावं कथा चन्द्रीभूतप्रदाता एव सूर्योग्निके वहुवेत्येः. Madhusudan says कलितारकपरिहितप्राप्तेन रूपम्; and afterwards प्रतिष्ठापर्याप्तेः.

§ Compare for this and following verses Kathopanishad V. 16.

Extend its branches, by the qualities  
 Enlarged, their sprouts being objects of sense.  
 Downwards extend the roots that in this world  
 Of mortals lead to action. Here not thus,  
 Is its form known; nor is its end, its source,  
 Nor its supports. But with the weapon strong  
 Of unconcern, hewing the As'vattha down,  
 With its roots firmly fixed, then should that seat  
 Be sought for, from which those who do repair  
 To it return not—thinking that one rests  
 On that same Primal Being from whom the course  
 Eternal emanates.\* Those who are free  
 From pride, delusion, who have overcome  
 The evils of attachment, and dispelled  
 Desires, who to the Adhyātma are given up,  
 Who are free from the pairs of opposites,  
 Called pain and pleasure—undeluded these  
 Go to that seat Imperishable. That seat  
 The Sun lights not, nor Fire, nor yet the Moon.†  
 That ■ my seat Supreme, going to which  
 One comes not back. A part eternus of me  
 It is, that in this mortal world becomes  
 An individual soul, and to itself  
 Draws out the senses with the mind as sixth

\* The construction in the original here is not quite clear, but I follow the commentators, according to whom, the clause beginning with the words 'thinking that' explains the manner of the 'search'—  
 अन्वेषणप्रकार, as Śridhar puts it. Mr. Thomson's rendering involves  
 I think, a rather unusual meaning for अति, and ■ after all not per-  
 fectly clear or unexceptionable. 'The course' (पृथिवी) is the course of  
 this worldly life—जीवरपृथिवी.

† Compare Kathopanishad VI. 1.

From Nature.\* Whosoever the Soul Divine  
 Obtains or quits a body, these he takes  
 Always with him, as from their seats the wind  
 Takes off perfumes. And then presiding over  
 The ear, the eye, the sense of touch and taste  
 And smell, and also over the mind, the Soul  
 Objects of sense enjoys.† The ignorant  
 See not the soul quitting this frame or staying,  
 Enjoying, or joined with the qualities.  
 They see who have eyes of knowledge.‡ Devotees  
 With efforts see it placed within themselves.§  
 But those who have not purity attained  
 And who have no discernment see it not

\* 'Senses with the mind as sixth'—means the five senses and the mind. 'from Nature'—S'rīdhār says that the senses are absorbed in the Prakṛti or Nature during sound sleep, as also at the time of the dissolution of the world; and from Nature the unemancipated soul has to resume them.

† 'Staying' means staying in the body; 'enjoying', according to Śankar, means perceiving sound &c. while 'joined with the qualities' means brought into contact with pleasure, pain, delusion &c. S'rīdhār renders 'enjoying' by enjoying worldly objects, and the last phrase he explains by joined with the senses इन्द्रियस्थान. Madhusūdana agrees with Śankar. Śankar observes संगूतमेनमध्यन्ते दद्यन्तीचरं प्राप्तं विमूढा दृष्टव्योपयोगव्याकृष्टपैनसायनेक्षया मूढा जनुपश्चक्षन्ति.

‡ 'Within themselves' means within their bodies (S'rīdhār) in their intellects (Śankar). Madhusūdana agrees with Śankar, and explains 'placed' by reflected.

Even after efforts. Know<sup>o</sup> that glory mine,  
 Which in the Sun lights up the Universe,  
 And in the Moon and Fire.<sup>\*</sup> Into the earth  
 Entering, I by my power support all things.  
 And I become the watery Moon, and give  
 Their nutriment to all herbs. I become  
 Fire, and entering into all creatures' frames,  
 Joined with the upward and the downward winds,  
 I cause digestion of the four-fold food.<sup>†</sup>  
 Within the heart<sup>‡</sup> of every one I am placed,  
 From me all reasoning, knowledge, memory.  
 In all the Veds I am only to be known.  
 I am the author of the Vedānta. I  
 Am also he who knows the Veds. There are  
 In this world these two Beings—that which is  
 Destructible, and the Indestructible.  
 Of all things the Destructible consists;  
 The Unconcerned one is that which is called  
 The Indestructible. The Being Supreme  
 Is yet another called the Highest Soul,  
 Who, as the Great Lord inexhaustible,  
 Pervading the three worlds, supports them. I  
 Transcending the Destructible, and being  
 Even higher than the Indestructible,  
 Am in the Veds and in the Universe

\* Comp. Kaṭhopaniṣad V. 15. He here returns to what he had left off at line 1877. The intervening portion shows, according to Śridhar, how it comes that some souls do 'come back,' after having gone to the 'supreme seat' in deep sleep—as taught by a Vedic text.

† See Notes and Illustrations.

‡ Compare Chap. XVIII. St. 61. (line 2322).

Known as the Best of Beings.\* He who knows  
 Me, undeluded, thus, the Best of Beings,  
 Offspring of Bharat! he does, knowing all,  
 Worship me every way.† Thus, sinless one!  
 Have I this most mysterious science declared.  
 One knowing this becomes, Oh Bharat's child!  
 Possessed of knowledge, and to his duty true.

### Chapter XVI.

**Krishna.** Freedom from fear, and purity of heart,  
 Persistence in pursuit of knowledge too,  
 Almsgiving, self-restraint, and sacrifice,  
 Study, and penance, and straightforwardness,  
 Harmlessness, and renunciation, truth,  
 Freedom from anger, and tranquillity,  
 Not playing the informer, to all beings  
 Compassion, freedom too from avarice;‡  
 Mildness, absence of vain activity,  
 And patience, modesty, highmindedness;§  
 Courage, cleanliness, absence of vanity

\* See Notes and Illustrations.

† The original is सर्वज्ञता which is rendered by Sridhar as in the text—सर्वप्रकारेण. Sridhar then adds तत्त्वं सर्वज्ञो मरणि. I. e. 'Then he becomes all-knowing.' Sankar does not construe the word 'all-knowing' in this way, but as ■■■ taken in our translation. On सर्वज्ञता he says सर्वमिच्छन्तय 'thinking me to be the soul of all.' But see Chap. XVIII. St. 62. (line 2324).

‡ So Sridhar. Sankar renders it by 'the senses not being affected even after contact with their objects.'

§ The original ■ देवः 'glory.' Sankar renders ■ by प्रभावः, so does Sridhar. Sankar says expressly देवः प्रभावः न शरीरस्तीति;—not the bodily glory.

And of malignancy,\* all these belong  
Offspring of Bharat ! to him who is born  
To heavenly endowments. • Pride, conceit,  
And ostentation, anger, harshness† too,  
And ignorance are his, Oh Prithi's son !  
Who is to demoniac endowments born.  
Endowments heavenly are thought to be  
Means for salvation ; for captivity,‡  
Demoniac. Grieve not, Oh Pippa's son !  
To heavenly endowments art thou born.  
Two sorts of creatures have been in this world  
Created, heavenly and demoniac.  
The heavenly have been spoken of at length,  
Hear the demoniac from me, Prithi's son !  
Creatures demoniac action know not  
Nor yet inaction;§ and veracity,  
Behaviour as ordained, and purity,  
Are not in them. "The universe", say they,  
■ Contains no truth ; it is without a Lord,

\* 'Absence of malignancy' ( भूत्ति ) means according ■ the commentators दरिपासाराहित्य or भूत्तिक्षम, freedom from a desire to injure others.

† Pride ( वृद्धि ) i. e. of wealth and learning ; and conceit ( भभिमान ) ■ the same thing as vanity, believing oneself to deserve great respect and so forth—according to the commentators. Ostentation ( राज्ञ ) अमेभजनम् say Sankar and Sridhar. Madhusudan adds प्रामेकनयात्मनः क्षपणम् (making a show of piety) ; harshness—निपुरुण says Sridhar, पक्षपण says Sankar.

‡ I. e. freedom from this world—संसार—and being tied down to it, respectively.

§ I. e. That which should be done, for the attainment of real good, and that which should not be done, as productive of real mischief.

And is of all fixed principle devoid,  
 Without connections mutual, and indeed  
 Designed for pleasure."\* Holding to this view,  
 These men of little knowledge, ruined souls,  
 Of cruel actions, the world's enemies,  
 Are born for its destruction. Harbouring  
 Insatiable desires, and full of pride, +  
 Folly, and ostentation, they adopt  
 False notions through delusion, and believe  
 In modes impure. Indulging boundless thoughts†  
 Ending with death ; ■ enjoyments of this world  
 Given up, resolved that that‡ is all ; bound down  
 With nets of hopes in hundreds ; given up  
 To anger and desire ; they wish for heaps  
 Of wealth, the pleasures of this world to enjoy,  
 Unjustly. " This have I received to-day ;  
 This wish I shall obtain. This wealth is mine ;  
 This shall be mine. I have destroyed this foe ;  
 And others too I will destroy. I am God,  
 I am enjoyer, I am perfect,§ strong,  
Happy, and wealthy. I am of high birth.

\* See Notes and Illustrations.

† I. e. Always during life thinking of preserving or acquiring something विनक्षणमालयेषु यज्ञोपवाणीष्वान्तरिक्षमालिकाम् says Anandagiri.

‡ I. e. enjoyment of worldly good, referring to the expression in the line preceding, which literally means 'enjoyment of things which are the objects of wish,' कामन्त्र हनि कामः शब्दात्मः says Sankar ; and see Anandagiri's gloss परिचिकं तु नास्ति सुखमिति निवापन्त इत्याह एतापदिति.

§ Sankar says सर्वप्रसारणं पूर्णोदाता ततः पूर्वः सीर्वेनकृष्णः—that ■ to say, blessed with children, grand children, and great grand children. Madhusūdana says similarly, possessed of companions such as sons, servants &c. Sridhar's view seems to me to be better. He renders it by कर्तव्यः literally 'One who has done all he need do.'

Who else is like me? I will sacrifice,  
I will make gifts, rejoice." By ignorance  
Deluded thus, tossed round by numerous thoughts,  
Surrounded by delusion's net, attached  
To the enjoyments of this world, they fall  
Down into Hell impure. Full of the pride  
And madness caused by wealth, highly esteemed  
But by themselves, void of humility,†  
They sacrifice but in name perform,  
Merely for show, against the rules prescribed.  
These enemies,‡ cruel, meanest of men,  
Indulging vanity, censoriousness,  
Desire, pride, wrath, brute force,§ and hating me  
In their own bodies and of others too,||  
Unholy, to this world¶ I do hurl down

\* S'ankar and Madhusūdana take this to mean यदेन्ह इवानभिभविष्यति. S'rīdhara renders it by ईक्षितान्वैरभः सकाशान्यहर्तु यत्कैवल्यप्रसादम्.

<sup>†</sup> सम्भवः is rendered by अप्रभावस्थानः; by Sankar, अनभ्यः; by Sridhar and Madhusudan.

*I. e. of God, say the commentators.*

६ एस नियमित्वा के द्वारा अनुभवित होता है।

॥ This and the two preceding lines explain, according to S'ridhar,  
how the sacrifices are "against prescribed rules." He says.... भास्मदेहे  
परमेषु प चित्तेन विदं मा वाहृष्टमो यत्वा दम्भोऽन्धाय भभातायनो  
दुर्दैर् विदा भरति तथा पवारीमादप्रशिक्षिणा हितव्ये वेदस्तदौर् एतद्विषयत् इति  
प्राप्तिपन्ते इत्युक्तम्। अस्मूलकाः स्मारेत्तेन गुणेषु देवारोरकाः। Hence it ap-  
pears that the words, "hating me in their own bodies and of others  
too" refer to the trouble to oneself involved in performing sacrifices  
without faith, and to the animals that are killed for these useless  
sacrifices.

<sup>६</sup> The original संकारे पु, S'ankar and Madhusūdana explain by वरक्. संसरणमायेत् and Sridhar by सन्ध्यमयेत्.

Perpetually into demoniac wombs.  
 Coming into demoniac wombs, each birth  
 Deluded still, never coming to me;  
 Oh Kunti's son! they go down into Hell.  
 Three are the ways to Hell, which to the soul  
 Are ruinous—desire, wrath, avarice.  
 Therefore should one this triad still renounce.  
 Released from these three ways to darkness, man,  
 Oh Kunti's son! behaves so as to achieve  
 His own good, then reaches the highest goal.  
 He\* who abandoning the ordinances  
 Of scripture, acts as he himself desires,  
 Does not attain perfection,† happiness,  
 Nor yet the seat supreme. Therefore for thee,  
 Between what should be done and what should not  
 To make distinctions, the authority  
 Is scripture. Hence, knowing what is laid down  
 In scripture ordinance, all acts here perform.

### Chapter XVII.

**Arjun.** What is the state<sup>t</sup> of those who, full of faith,

\* Sridhar observes that this is said with the view of showing that release from the 'triad' is not to be accomplished except by the performance of prescribed duties.

† विद्या, the original, has occurred before also several times. Sankar here explains it to mean 'fitness for the attainment of the *summum bonum*' पुरुषार्थेन्द्रियता. Sridhar renders it by तत्त्वज्ञान 'right knowledge.'

‡ The original is विधि which also occurs in Chap. III. St. 3 (line 376), where we have rendered it by 'path'. Here Sridhar renders it by विधिति or विधय, Sankar by विधस्थान. It is not difficult to see, however that the apparent difference is only owing to the context, and that in substance the different renderings express the same idea.

Worship perform, Oh Kṛṣṇa! abandoning  
All scripture rules—Goodness, Indifference,  
Or Badness? \*

**Krishna.** Faith ■ of three kinds in men,  
'Tis the result of dispositions.\* Hear  
About it; 'tis Good, Bad, Indifferent.  
The faith of all, offspring of Bharat ! ■  
Conformable to their hearts. Mortals here  
Are full of faith, and whatsoever one's faith  
Is, that is one oneself.† The Good the gods  
Worship. The Indifferent the Rakshases,  
And Yakshas. And the Bad worship the hosts  
Of demons and the manes. Know that those  
Who practise dreadful penance, unordained  
By Holy Writ, with ostentatiousness,  
And pride, full of attachment, and desire,

\* इमार is explained अन्मास्तरकृती भवोदिसंस्कारो यरनकालेभिन्नकः दामार इकरी—Sankar; so too the other commentators. And compare the note at Chap. VII. 20 (line 967) *supra*, and ■ line 469.

† "According to their hearts," Sankar's gloss on the original is this विद्युतसंकारीपैदान्तःकरणमुह्या । S'ridhar सद्वत्तरमध्यनुसारिणी । Ma-dhusūdana agrees with S'aukar, for he says प्रथमियत्वःकरणगतसमाकृ-  
निमित्तकारणीयेण अकारैव्यमुह्या तदुपादानकारणान्तःकरणैविष्टेणापि  
नद्वैष्टम्यमाप्त ।—He then goes on सन्ते अकारैव्यमुह्यात्सद्वत्तरमध्यनुशिरुका (etc.  
एत्) पञ्चाकृतपञ्चमामूलारम्भमन्तःकरणम् ।—"Full of faith." S'ridhar  
says विद्युत्था अकार विकित इत्येत् । Sankar says अकाराय; and Ma-  
dhusūdana प्राच्येन्द्रियमहत्तमा इत्युक्तः । अकारये यज्ञ इतिवृत् । It seems to  
mean, that the "faith" of each person is the dominant principle to  
him, and according as that is Good, Bad, or Indifferent, the man him-  
self is Good, Bad, or Indifferent. This last is the meaning of the  
words immediately following.

And stubbornness, and folly, torturing  
 The various portions of their frames, and me  
 Within those frames,<sup>#</sup> are men whose conduct is  
 Demoniac. The food that ■ liked by them  
 Is also three-fold. So the sacrifice,  
 The alms-giving, and the penance. Listen, now,  
 To their distinctions, thus:—Those kinds of food  
 Which do increase life, energy, and strength,  
 Health, happiness, and relish,†—savoury,  
 And oleaginous, of substance full,‡  
 And pleasant, are by Good men liked. Those kinds  
 Which are too hot, and bitter, acid, salt,  
 Sharp, rough, and burning, which occasion pain,  
 Grief, and disease, are by the Indifferent  
 Desired. The food cold, tasteless,§ stinking, stale,  
 Impure, and even the leavings, by the Bad  
 Are liked. Good is the sacrifice performed  
 According to the ordinances, by those  
 Who wish not for the fruit, but have resolved  
 Within their minds that it must be performed.  
 But know that sacrifice Indifferent,  
 Prince of the Bhārata † which is all performed

\* Compare Chap. XVI. St. 18 (line 1889).

† शीति, the original, ■ rendered by अभिदृष्टिः by Śridhar and Ma-  
 dhushūdana. Ānandagiri says परेषामपि संसारानां दक्षोनाशरमो हयः.

‡ विपुरा:, the orginal, Śridhar renders by दैवे साराजीव चिरकालाप्यथापि.  
 ∙: In this Sankar and Madhusūdana concur.

§ Sankar says अद्यतमं यज्ञपक्षं निर्भीरेत्वा यज्ञस्तेनोहनात् Madhusūdana  
 quotes this, and adds निरसती प्राप्य शुद्धम्. Śridhar says यानयाऽ  
 ग्रीवाद्यरवः प्राप्तमेत्येः यज्ञस्तु निर्भीरित्वात्तरम्. वर्यौरेत्, which we  
 have rendered by stale, all the commentators explain to mean, cooked  
 and allowed to remain in that state for one night.

For show, or with an eye towards the fruit.  
 That sacrifice do they call Bad, in which  
 There are no Mantras, and no food, nor wealth  
 Dealt out,<sup>\*</sup> devoid of faith, not in accord  
 With the ordinances. The paying reverence  
 To Gods, and Brāhmaṇas, teachers, and the wise,†  
 And purity, straightforwardness,‡ and life  
 As celibates, and harmlessness—all this  
 Is called the penance bodily. That speech  
 Which sorrow causes not, and which is true,  
 Pleasant, and beneficial, and likewise  
 The study of the Veda§—all this is called  
 The penance wordly. Next, calmness of mind,  
 Mildness, and silence,|| and restraint of self,  
 And purity of heart—all this is called  
 The penance mental. Practised with full faith  
 By men, devoted, not desiring fruit,  
 This penance three-fold is called Good. And that  
 Which is for honour, reverence, and respect,¶

---

\* That is to say, a sacrifice in which no food or Dukshina is given to Brāhmaṇas.

† I. e. Others than "teachers" who have right knowledge यज्ञादिवेष्टि एव सर्वतः—Śrīdhara.

‡ I. e. doing what ■ prescribed, not doing what ■ prohibited.

§ This includes the recitation of them, and therefore forms part of the 'penance wordly.'

|| This is included in the 'penance mental,' as silence or the 'government of the tongue' is a consequence of mental restraint, and here according ■ S'ankar, the effect is put for the cause.

¶ 'Honour,' people saying "this is a very holy person" and so on; 'reverence' people washing his feet and so forth; 'respect,' people rising ■ receive him and so on—S'ankar.

And with much show performed, that is here called  
 Indifferent—'tis uncertain, transient too.  
 But that's described as Bad, which is performed  
 Under a foolish view,<sup>a</sup> with self-distress,  
 Or for another's ruin. The gift of alms,  
 That's made because it ought to be, to one  
 Who can't repay,<sup>f</sup> and at a proper place,  
 And proper time, and to a proper man,  
 Is called Good. That, however, which is made  
 For a return, or with an eye to fruit,<sup>b</sup>  
 And with reluctance, that is said to be  
 Indifferent. And it is described as Bad,  
 When given at an improper place or time,  
 To an improper man, without respect  
 Or with disdain. *Om, sat, and svet* are called<sup>c</sup>  
 The three-fold designation of the Brahma.  
 By that the Brahmins, as well as the Veds,  
 And sacrifices, were created.<sup>d</sup> Hence  
 All acts of penance, gift, and sacrifice,  
 That are ordained, with those who know the Brahma,  
 Always after repeating *Om* commence.  
 The various acts of penance, sacrifice,  
 And gift are done by those who do desire  
 Salvation, saying *sat*, without an eye  
 To fruit. Existence, goodness, to express  
*Sat* is employed. Likewise, Oh Pṛītha's son!

\* Under a determination arrived at without proper discrimination.

† So the commentators interpret अप्रकारिणे.

‡ Heaven &c. as a reward for the act of liberality.

§ रूपान्तरः. 'In the Vedāntas or Upanishads' says Śankar; रूपः—' by the learned'—S'ridhar.

|| As to the whole of this passage see Notes and Illustrations.

About auspicious\* actions the term *sat*  
 Is used. Perseverance in giving alms,  
 Penance, and sacrifice, are also called  
*Sat*, and so too are called all acts for this. †  
 Whatever penance is performed, whatever  
 Is offered up or given, whatever ■ done,‡  
 Without faith, that is *asat*, 'Pṛithī's son !  
 And is nought either here or after death.

### Chapter XVIII.

**Arjun.** Killer of Kesi ! large-armed one ! Oh Lord  
 Of minds ! I do desire to know the truth  
 About Renunciation, and about  
 Rejection also, as distinct from that.

**Krishna.** The sages by Renunciation mean  
 The casting off of acts done with desires ;  
 And ■ called Rejection by the wise  
 To disregard the fruit of every act.§  
 "Action should be rejected as an evil,"  
 Say some wise men ;|| and others say, that acts

\* प्रश्नसे विश्वासो S'ankar माझेंडे विश्वासदिकर्मणि S'ridhar, i.e.  
 marriage etc.

† S'ankar says यज्ञानतपीर्थ्यमध्या यस्तमियानवर्यं इकुनं तदर्थैषमीश्वरा-  
 र्थेष्यमियेन्. S'ridhar says यस्य चेदं मध्यमध्यं स एव दरमात्मा भर्तुः कल्पे यस्य  
 तदर्थं कर्म...तर्मिल्लये यज्ञानवर्यं द्विपते...तस्मै तदर्थैषम्.

‡ Praise, salutation etc, says S'ankar.

§ In the first case, the act itself is not done. In the other ■ is  
 done, b' it without an eye to the fruit. S'ridhar refers back to Chap. V.  
 St. ■ (line 556 of seq.) and IV. 20 (line 559 of seq.) for संन्वास and माग.

|| विश्वासदीदरन्त्वेन सन्पद्धत् says S'ridhar. दोषत् may also mean 'like  
 an evil.'

Of sacrifice; of penance, or of gift,  
 Ought not to be rejected. Listen now  
 Prince of the Bharats ! to my judgment first  
 Concerning this Rejection. Of three kinds,  
 Oh valiant one ! Rejection is described  
 To be. Now\* acts of sacrifice, and gift,  
 And penance too, rejected should not be,  
 Should be performed of course. Gift, sacrifice,  
 And penance—all do purify the wise.  
 But even these acts should be. Oh Pritha's son !  
 (It is my excellent and settled view)  
 Performed without attachment, and without  
 Desire of fruit. Of necessary acts  
 Renunciation is not fit "Tis said  
 That their rejection through delusion's bad.  
 When one rejects acts merely because  
 They are hard, through fear of bodily distress,  
 By a Rejection thus Indifferent,  
 He surely will not get Rejection's fruit.  
 When necessary actions are performed,  
 Because, Oh Arjun ! they must be performed,  
 Rejecting all attachments and all fruit,  
 Then such Rejection is thought to be Good.  
 The man of talent, whose doubts are destroyed,  
 Who is full of Goodness, and who doth reject  
 All fruit and all attachment,† likes not acts  
 Pleasant, to unpleasant‡ ones is not averse.'

\* Here he states his judgment.

+ These words are supplied from the commentary. The original is simply वृत्ति 'one who rejects.'

† श्रीवाच्च, Sridhar renders by सुपुर्ण, and as an example ■ give निरापि मध्याह्नस्नानादि i. e. bathing at midday in summer.

For any creature, 'tis impossible  
 All action to reject.\* But he is called  
 Rejecter† who rejects the fruit of acts.  
 Agreeable, and disagreeable,  
 And mixed,—the fruit of acts of three sorts thus  
 Falls to the non-rejecter after death,  
 Never to the renoucer;‡ large-armed one !  
 From me the five conditions§ learn, which are  
 Required for the completion of all acts,  
 And in the Sankhya system|| are declared—  
 The agent, the substratum, various kinds  
 Of senses, all the movements various,  
 The Deities¶ the fifth. Whatever act,

\* Compare Chap. III. St. 3 (line 382).

† The original is नाशी. I have thought it necessary to take the liberty of coining a word 'rejecter' as a synonym for this.

‡ The original is संन्यासी, but Sridhar is, I think, right in saying that the word here means the same thing as नाशी. He refers to Chap. VI. St. 1 (line 738-39).—Madhusūdana expressly dissent from this. Sankar and he take the word in its ordinary sense, rendering it by वरमहात्माराजक.

§ कारणाणि Sankar renders by निर्देशस्ति (the printed copy has निर्दै-  
नामि, I think wrongly). In what follows, says Sridhar, it is intended to show how the fruit of acts does not accrue to the renoucer.

|| Sankar and Madhusūdana interpret this to mean the Vedānta-  
śāstra. Sridhar, too, does the same, but he gives also the alternative meaning—Sankhya Śāstra.

¶ The agent = one who has the egotism to think himself the doer of acts; substratum = the body, the substratum for the manifestation of desire, aversion, pleasure, pain &c.; various senses—the twelve senses—the means for the perception of sound &c.; various movements i.e. of the internal winds, downwards, upwards, &c.; deities = those which preside over the several senses (वाचित्पति चक्षुराधनुशास्त्रम् ) or the power that controls all (सर्वप्रकाशदर्शी च॥ says Sridhar).

Just or its opposite, a man performs,  
 With body, speech, or mind, its causes are  
 These five. That being so, whoever sees  
 The agent in the soul immaculate,  
 Is not of right views, being unrefined  
 In mind, and he sees not.\* He who does feel  
 No egoism, whose intellect's not stained,  
 Destroying even these worlds, does not destroy,  
 Is not tied down.† The prompting to all acts  
 Is three-fold—knowledge, and its object too,  
 And subject; so in brief all action is  
 Three-fold—the agent, and the instrument,  
 And the object.‡ In the list of qualities,§  
 Knowledge, and act, and agent, are declared  
 To be of three sorts, in conformity  
 To the division of the qualities.

These, too, learn as they are. When one perceives  
 In all things one thing inexhaustible,  
 One undivided in divided ones,||  
 That knowledge, know, is Good. But that which sees  
 In all things various entities distinct,  
 That knowledge, based upon variety,¶

\* Compare Chap. XIII. St. 29 (line 1742) and other passages.

† Compare Chap. II. St. 38 (line 249).

‡ Knowledge *sākṣi*, that a particular thing is a means to something desired; its object is that which is such a means; and the subject he who has the knowledge. When these co-exist, we have action. The 'instrument' *sākṣi*, of action, is the senses, &c.; 'object' is that which the agent desires.

§ The system of Kapil—the Sākhyā Philosophy.

|| Compare Chap. XIII. St. 16 (line 1609) one all-pervading principle under all the apparently distinct entities.

¶ This states ■ brief what is explained ■ the preceding lines.  
 And compare मृत्युःस मृत्युगतोनि य ह नानेष परमि.

Know thou to be Indifferent. And that  
 Which looks on only one created thing  
 As everything, given up to it, without  
 Reason, devoid of truth, and low, is Bad.\*  
 The necessary action that's performed  
 Without attachment, without love or hate,†  
 By one not wishing for its fruit, is called  
 Good. But then that which is performed by one,  
 Full of desires, or even of egotism,‡  
 And which occasions toil, Indifferent  
 ■ called. The action through delusion done,  
 Without regard to consequences, loss,  
 One's power, or harm to others, is called Bad.  
 The agent, from attachment egotism  
 Free, and possessed of boldness, energy,  
 And by success or ill-success unmoved,  
 Is called Good. But the agent who desires  
 The fruit of acts, who's of affection's full,  
 Cruel, impure, and covetous, who feels  
 Delight and grief, is called Indifferent.

\* एकस्मिन्दकायैरेह कहीं प्रगिमादी सुखदेशवापनेवत्त्वेष्वरो च जातः परमस्तीति  
 यथा नप्रधृष्णकारीना शुरीरान्तर्वित्तेदपारेमासी लील हेष्वरो च यशायादाव-  
 शोदिमावभ् (?) Sankar.

† Love for children &c., or hatred for foes &c.

‡ The commentators reject the rendering 'egotism' here as rendered pleonastic by the other expression. They render it by 'pride of learning, pisty &c.' Five lines further on, the word is again similarly interpreted by Śridhar; Anandagiri says there (interpreting Sankar's words) कर्तौरपिति परमशोऽलो च मत्त्वेष्वयैः.

§ Soil for children &c., according to Śridhar, as before, but Anandagiri says दृष्टिरेष्वयै रागः.

And he is Bad who is of judgment void,  
 Who has no application, is headstrong,  
 Crafty, malicious, lazy, melancholy,  
 And slow.\* Now the division three-fold learn  
 Of intellect and firmness,† Conqueror  
 Of wealth ! which I shall now exhaustively  
 And with distinctions mention. The intellect  
 That knows salvation, and the being tied down,  
 Security, and insecurity,  
 What should be done, and what should not be done,  
 And action and inaction;‡ Pritihi's son !  
 Is Good. But that through which one understands  
 Improperly what should be done, what not,  
 Impiety, and piety, Oh Partha !  
 That is Indifferent. That intellect  
 Which sees impiety as piety,  
 And all things too the wrong way, covered up  
 By darkness, that is Bad, Oh Pritihi's son !

\* भयको उसमहितः says S'ankar अनुभि (११) दितः says S'rīdhar. The original for 'malicious' is निष्टुलिकः which S'ankar interprets by परवृत्तिशुद्ध-दण्डरः. Lazy (श्लशः) means disinclined to work अनुपमशीढः; slow (शिर्षसुधः) means one who takes too long a time to do any work.

† Madhusūdana explains the two words thus वृद्धेरवृद्धाम्बद्धिस्तिमयाः पूर्वीक तद्यसेः. The word here rendered by 'intellect' is the same that has been before translated by 'faculty of fixed resolve' and like expressions. Firmness is the strength of that faculty.

‡ Compare Chap. XVI. St. 7. (line 1952). S'rīdhar's interpretation here is the same as on that passage. S'ankar, however, says here प्रवृत्तिः प्रवृत्तनं क्वचिदेतुः कर्मयादिः...निष्टुलिमोक्षदेतुः सम्याप्तमार्थः. So Madhusūdana, also, who adds as to कार्यकार्ये &c. कार्य प्रवृत्तिमार्गे कर्मणा कर्मसम्भार्ये निष्टुलिमार्गे कर्मसामकरणम् भयं प्रवृत्तिमार्गे गर्भसात्तदेतुः ग्रन्थमयं निष्टुलिमार्गे ग्रन्थमयम्.

That firmness is good firmness, by which one  
 Controls the movements of the mind and breath  
 And senses through devotion; and which never  
 Doth swerve.<sup>\*</sup> But that, Oh Pṛithī's son ! by which  
 One hews desire and piety and wealth,<sup>†</sup>  
 Wishing through strong attachment for the fruit,<sup>‡</sup>  
 Oh Arjan ! is Indifferent. And that  
 By which the senseless man abandons not  
 Folly, sleep, fear, despondency, and grief—  
 That firmness, Pṛithī's son ! is Bad. Now hear  
 Chief of the Bhārata ! the descriptions three  
 Of happiness. That in which one is pleased  
 After habituation,<sup>§</sup> and arrives  
 At the end of pain, which is like poison first,  
 But in the end like nectar—that is called  
 Good, and it flows from knowledge of the soul

\* वीर्य 'Devotion' is here rendered by समाधान by Śankar and Madhusūdana, and प्रितिकार्य by Śridhar. 'Which never swerves' { अवृत्प्रितिकारे. एव } Śankar renders by समाधानसुनकता. Madhusūdana by अप्रितिमानय which he construes with अप्रिति and explains further by समाधानप्रयत्न. The meaning is that this firmness of mind always adheres to devotion, and thereby always controls sense, breath, and mind.

† These are three of the so-called पुण्यार्थ—omitting the highest  
 मीर्य 'or 'final emancipation'; 'Huge' ( भारवने )=समाधानेन भार यने (S'ri-  
 dhar) मनसि निष्पर्कर्त्तव्यानेन भारयने meaning 'regards as essential.'

‡ 'The fruit'=the fruit of the action performed with an eye to the  
 three things mentioned. प्रसर्य 'attachment' is interpreted by Ma-  
 dhusūdana to mean 'the belief of oneself being the real agent in  
 the action.'

§ By repetition of enjoyment—not at once as in the case of the  
 negligences of the senses.

Free from obscurity.\* That happiness  
 Is known to be Indifferent, which comes  
 From contact of the object and the sense,  
 Which is like nectar first, and in the end  
 Like poison. That's described as Bod, which, first  
 As well as in its consequence, deludes  
 The soul, and flows from sleep and laziness  
 And heedlessness.† There is nought on this earth,  
 Nor yet among the gods in Heaven, which  
 Is free from these three qualities produced  
 From Nature. The offices, killer of foes !  
 Of Br̥hmaṇ, Kshatriya, Vais'ya and S'addra are marked  
 According to the qualities produced  
 From Nature.‡ Penance, patience, purity,  
 Sedateness, self-control, and rectitude,  
 Knowledge, experience, in a future world  
 Belief§—these are the duties natural

\* Śankar who gives this meaning in common with the other commentators also suggests the following as to आत्मज्ञाने vis.  
 आत्मनो ज्ञानैः, which would mean 'one's own mind.' Mr. Thomson adopts this meaning of आत्मज्ञाने and renders प्रसाद by 'serenity.' The meaning is not inadmissible. But I prefer the other, as in this there is not much propriety in the employment of the word आत्म. Comp. Chap. II. St. 55 (line 240), Chap. XVII. St. ॥ (line 2060).

† प्रसाद, a word which has occurred before in this work—Śridhar renders it by कर्त्तव्यापारपरिवर्णय.

‡ Compare Chap. IV. St. 13 (line 536). The word for 'nature' here is समाव which is rendered by जगत् and compare also Chap. V. St. ॥ (line 682).

§ As to knowledge and experience see Chap. II. St. 41 (line 495). The original word answering to the next expression is अस्तित्व, literally 'the state of a believer that something exists.'

Of Brâhmaṇas. Courage, glory, bravery,  
 Skill, not ~~■~~ flee from battle, giving alms,  
 And lordliness,\* the duties natural  
 Of Kshatriyas. The duties natural  
 Of Vais'yaś, too, are tending cattle,† trade,  
 And agriculture. So too servitude,  
 The duty natural of S'udras. These  
 Engaged in their respective duties, reach  
 Perfection. Listen now how one engaged  
 In one's own duty does perfection reach.  
 By his own proper duty worshipping  
 Him from whom all things emanate, and who  
 All this pervades, perfection‡ man attains.  
 One's duty ill-performed is better far  
 Than that of others well-performed.§ No sin  
 Accrues to him who does the duty set  
 By Nature, Kunti's son! None should forsake  
 The duty to which he is born though evil;  
 Because by evil all acts are wrapt up,  
 As fire by smoke.|| He who is self-restrained,

---

Compare Pânini IV. 4, 60. The 'future world' is added from the commentary, and there can be no doubt that it ~~■~~ the ordinary and correct meaning of the word.

\* विरामः is explained to mean a proper exercise of authority.

† विरत् is taken to apply to cattle generally; वायुग्राह्य say the commentators.

‡ I. e. eligibility for the path of knowledge ज्ञाननिष्ठा योग्यताऽक्षणा-  
 गतिः—S'ankar and Madhusûdana.

§ Compare Chap. III. St. 35 (line 475).

|| Comp. Chap. XVIII. St. 7 (line 2124). The evil ~~■~~ not stated by the commentators but seems to be the quality of 'fettering' the soul so frequently spoken of. S'rîdhara infers from this, that as the

Whose thoughts are not attached to any thing,  
 Free from desires, doth the perfection reach,  
 Supreme, of freedom from all action,<sup>f</sup> through  
 Renunciation. Learn from me in brief  
 How one who has perfection reached attains  
 The Brahma, Oh son of Kunti ! the highest state  
 Of knowledge.<sup>g</sup> With an intellect full pure  
 And self-restrained, with firmness casting off  
 Sound and all other sensuous objects, freed  
 From love and hate, frequenting lonely spots,  
 Eating but little, with speech, body, mind,  
 Restrained, to meditation constantly  
 And to devotion and to unconcern<sup>h</sup>  
 Given up, abandoning all egoism,  
 And vanity, desire, wrath, stubbornness,  
 And all belongings,<sup>i</sup> free from thoughts of "mine,"<sup>j</sup>  
 And tranquil, man the fitness does obtain  
 To be one with the Brahma. And thus become

---

good elements in 'fire' are used to the exclusion of the smoke, so  
 the good portion of action should be accepted, and its 'evil' portion  
 abandoned in the manner stated in the next stanza.

\* शूलि. wife, child &c. says S'ankar.

+ सर्वे द्रव्यान्तरकृपा निर्विकृप् say S'ankar, अरमदेवयांश् says  
 Sridhar referring to Chap. V. St. 10 (lines 678-9) and distinguishing  
 it from Chap. V. St. 8 (line 662).

† This, according to the commentators, shows what that attainment  
 in the Brahma is which has been spoken of just before.

‡ Devotion ==concentration on the soul alone. Unconcern see  
 line 656.

|| Comp. Chap. VI. St. 10 (line 771) also line 562 referred to in the  
 note there.

¶ Comp. Chap. II. St. 71 (line 362). Madhusūdana says दैवीरनभास्त्रैवि  
 द्रमदाररहितः.

One with the Brahma, and with a tranquil soul,  
 One grieves not, wishes not, towards all beings  
 Alike; supreme devotion to me then -  
 One reaches; through devotion truly known  
 Who I am, and how great; then knowing me  
 Truly, into me enters.\* Even all acts  
 Always performing, on me resting, he,  
 The inexhaustible eternal seat,  
 Favoured by me, attains. To me all acts  
 By the mind offering,† given up to me,  
 Practise devotion, with the faculty  
 Of steady resolution;‡ and thy mind  
 Always upon me fix. Fixing thy mind -  
 On me, then by my favour shalt surmount  
 All dangers. But if thou through egotism;§  
 Listen not, ruined shalt thou be. If thou,  
Through egotism, thinkst "I shall not fight," vain

\* 'Become one with the Brahma' at the opening of this passage (प्राप्तमुमः) of course cannot mean absorbed into the Brahma. S'ridhar renders it by प्राप्तमादेयः. It would seem to mean 'one who has comprehended fully his own identity with the Brahma.' As to the 'supreme devotion,' S'ankar refers to Chap. VII. St. ■ (line 932).

† Comp. Chap. V. St. 13 (line 679) and note there.

‡ गुरुदीपेन्द्रियं S'ankar renders by समाहितप्रकृतिनयं 'having the faculty of fixed resolve (प्रकृति) concentrated.' S'ridhar says व्यवसायामिन् या शुद्धज्ञा योगः; Madhusūdana says तूर्णोक्तस्यनकुर्दिलभूते योगम्. I do not think that there is any substantial difference between these interpretations.

§ परिज्ञतोऽप्यमिति says S'ankar—that is to say, through pride of your own cleverness. So too S'ridhar and Madhusūdana. The latter on the same word in the next line but one says भास्मिकोहं कुरुं कर्म न करिष्यामीति अप्यश्चिम्यानम्. According to this 'pride of piety' is the meaning there.

Is that resolve of thine. For nature\* will  
 Compel thee. What, Oh Kunti's son! tied down  
 By thy own duty born of Nature,† thou  
 Dost through delusion not desire to do,  
 That same thing 'gainst thy own will shalt thou do.  
 Arjun! the Lord is seated in the heart  
 Of every creature, causing to turn round,  
 Through his delusion, creatures mounted on  
 An engine. Seek asylum every way‡  
 With him, offspring of Bharat! Thou shalt reach,  
 Favoured by him, supreme tranquillity,  
 And the eternal seat. Thus I have declared  
 To thee this knowledge more mysterious  
 Than any mystery. Thinking of this  
 Fully, act as thou wishest. Hear once more  
 My words, the most mysterious of all—  
 Strongly I like thee, therefore do I speak,  
 For thy behoof. Upon me fix thy mind,  
 Become my worshipper, my devotee,  
 To me bow down, to me alone shalt thou  
 Attain. I tell thee true, thou art dear to me.  
 Forsaking all thy duties, come to me  
 As thy sole refuge. From all sins I will

\* Nature = जृतसमाः: (the nature of Kshatriyas) says Sankar.  
 रौप्यगुणसंबोधनां सर्वे says Sridhar. Madhusūdana combines the two thus ,क्षत्रियस्त्राम्भो रौप्यगुणसमाः:

† Comp. St. 43 (line 2244 et seq.) *sprc.*

‡ Comp. Chap. XV. St. 19 (line 1922). The commentators here render the expression by सर्वानन्दाः. Madhusūdana adds मनसा वाचा कर्मणा. And Anandagiri says the same thing. This may be taken as the explanation of सर्वानन्देण by which Sridhar renders the expression at Chap. XV. St. 19.

Release thee. Grieve not. This<sup>e</sup> thou shalt not speak  
 To one who does no penance practise,<sup>f</sup> never  
 To one void of devotion, nor to one  
 Who wishes not to hear, nor yet to one  
 Who carps ~~at~~ me. He who this mystery  
 Supreme unto my devotees will speak,  
 Fully devoted ~~at~~ me,<sup>g</sup> shall attain  
 To me undoubtedly. Amongst all men,  
 To me there ~~is~~ none dearer, nor shall be  
 Another dearer on the earth, than he.  
 And this our sacred dialogue whoever  
 Shall study, he shall have performed for me  
 The sacrifice of knowledge,<sup>h</sup> I do think.  
 Also the man who will even bear with faith,  
 And without carping, he too shall be freed.

\* इति शारद्यू says Shankar. It means all that has been taught in the Gita.

<sup>f</sup> अपरस्कः = अर्थात् नुगामहीन says Sridhar. 'Devotion,' scil. towards God and the Preceptor, say the commentators. Compare the last stanza of the Chhindogyopanishad एव देवे परा भक्तिर्वेद देवे तथा गुरौ ॥ १८६॥ कथिता एवीः प्रकाशने महाव्यनः. On 'who wishes not to hear.' गुरेष्वर्गम्-कुर्वते say the commentators, that is to say, who does not serve some preceptor in order to hear it. Comp. Chap. IV. St. ३ (line 610). Shankar adds that all the elements mentioned must co-exist to make one eligible for learning this doctrine.

<sup>g</sup> With the belief that in spreading knowledge of it, he is serving and devoting himself to me. Shankar and Madhusudan. Sridhar says त यथि भास्क करोते तनै निःसंज्ञयः सन्मार्पेत् प्राप्त्येति, which involves a bad construction as to the first part, but as to असंज्ञयः a more grammatical one than Shankar's which ~~is~~ adopted in the text.

<sup>h</sup> That is the best sacrifice. Comp. Chap. IV, St. 33 (lines 606.7).

And shall attain to the bright worlds of those  
Who do good deeds.\* Hast thou, Oh Prisila's son !  
Listened to this with an attentive mind ?  
Is thy delusion caused by ignorance  
Destroyed, Oh Conqueror of wealth !

**Arjun.** . . . . . **Destroyed**  
Is my delusion ; by thy favour too  
Oh undegraded one ! I recollect  
Myself.† And free from all doubt‡ now I stand.  
I will do as thou bidst.

**Sanjaya.** Thus did I hear  
This dialogue of the high-minded son  
Of Prithâ and the son of Vasudev—  
Wonderful, causing the hair to stand on end !  
By Vyâs's favour, this devotion§— this  
Mystery supreme—I heard from Kriśna's self  
Lord of Devotion, who propounded it  
In person. And Oh king ! once and again  
Thinking about this wondrous dialogue  
And holy, 'twixt Kes'âv and Arjun, I  
Often rejoice ! Oh king ! once and again  
Thinking about that form most wonderful

\* Comp. Chap. VI. St. 41. (line 874) where we have rendered it  
world of Holy Beings.

<sup>†</sup> Sankar says द्वितीयामृणरेष्या रुक्षा यस्या साभास्त्रैवन्धीता विप्रदीप्तः, एकान्तमृणपानकृष्ण ग्रन्थः says Sridhar.

१ गर्वी भवेत्प्रियः स्त्रेही वस्तु. Sridhar-s. e. doubts as to whether fighting with relatives was right,

§ I. e. favour in giving him a superhuman power of seeing and hearing. 'Devotion'—Shankar says that the composition is called 'devotion' because it relates to 'devotion,' देवत्वात्-पूर्णे प्रेषणः.

Of Hari, great is my astonishment,  
 And often I rejoice ! Wherever Kṛishṇa  
 Lord of Devotion, where the archer, son  
 Of Prithī, there, I think, prosperity,  
 And fortune,\* victory, justice eterne !

\* श्री and भूमि are thus distinguished by Sankar श्रीये  
 विस्तारी भूमिः, and thus by Sridhar श्री रामेन्द्रमिः:-  
 Madhusūdana agrees with Sridhar only substituting रामेन्द्रमप्य वि-  
 तुमि for the vaguer भूमिन्द्र of Sridhar.



## NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Lines 25-27—वृत्ति and वृत्तिः. There is a great difference of opinion as to the true meanings of these words in St. 10. Two opposite meanings have been proposed. The one is 'limited and unlimited' which we have adopted. The other is 'sufficient and insufficient.' For the sense adopted by us, which is consistent with the traditional strength of the two armies, compare Māgh. I. 27. And see Wilson's Essays on Sanskrit Literature Vol. III. 116.

Lines 32-33—Compare Wilson's Essays on Sanskrit Literature Vol. III. p. 116; and see p. 117 as to the names of the several coaches ■ lines 37-43.

Line 53—The Ape was Hanuman.

Lines 59-61—More literally these lines should have run thus :—

..... I see those who are here  
Assembled, anxious for the fight, and longing  
To do good to the evil-minded son  
Of Dhṛitarāshtra.

Line 75—The Gāḍḍiv is the bow of Arjun.

Line 165—There ■ great difference of opinion among the commentators as to the real meaning of the words "talkst the words of wisdom." Probably, S'rīdhara's is the simplest explanation. You talk, says Kṛishṇa to Arjun, like a wise man; but your conduct in lamenting for your relatives is not so wise.

Line 174—I find that a commentator of the Dvait

School of Philosophy, namely Rāghavendra Yati, interprets  
मात्रा to mean वाचिष्ठः.

Line 256 et seq.—Of this passage, again, S'ridhar's explanation is the easiest, and to my mind most acceptable. Kṛishṇa, having closed what he calls the Sankhya doctrine, now states the Yog doctrine; and says, that those who follow and act upon this Yog doctrine, never lose the fruit of anything they begin; nor do they find obstacles in their way, like those who perform all they do out of a desire for particular benefits. Those who act with desires, now wish for one thing, now for another. But those who follow the Yog doctrine desire nothing, they have one settled course of action, one fixed resolution—all they do they offer unto the Supreme Being. As to Samādhi, which we have rendered by contemplation, Madhusūdana says as follows:—समाधीयते अस्मि-  
—सर्वमिति व्युत्पत्त्य समाधिरन्तःकरणं गा परमपत्ति वैति भाष्यिकार्थद्वयम् ॥  
अहं तदेत्यवस्थाने समाधिस्तत्त्वमिति व्याख्यायत्त्वा युक्तिनोन्नत्वत् द्वानि व्याख्याने तु  
कृदिरेतामृता ॥ The ultimate sense of the passage seems to be the same on all these interpretations. And that sense is, that the class of persons described here are not in that settled state of mind which is necessary for the performance of every act as offered to the Supreme Being. Contemplation ■ of course contemplation of the Brahma to whom every act is ■ be offered up. Our translation of अन्मर्मफलपदा is not quite accurate according to the interpretations of the commentators, though in substance it appears to be not incorrect. Śankar takes the compound to mean 'promising a new birth as the fruit of action'—and this interpretation seems to be preferable to the others suggested. In accordance with this the lines should run thus:

And which doth promise as the fruit of acts  
New births—the flowery talk, Oh Prithi's son !

"The effects of the three qualities" are the affairs of this world. Compare Mālavikāgnimitra ( मालविकाग्निमित्र नाम-रस दृष्टेः ). "Free from them," as stated in the footnote, is explained by the commentators to mean free from desire, which is the ultimate meaning of "free from the effects of the three qualities," as the whole of what is called the business of this earth is performed with some desire or another. "Resting in courage" means preserving courage and patience under the sufferings flowing from the pairs of opposites mentioned just before. The last words, it need scarcely be said, mean that one should not be over-anxious to obtain what one has not or to preserve what one has. One ought to be indifferent to such things. As to the three qualities see note on Chapter XIV.

Lines 275-7—This is a rather difficult Stanza, and I cannot make up my mind to accept the construction of it proposed by the commentators. Nor does Mr. Thomson's construction appear to me to be suitable to the context. I would, with some diffidence, suggest the following. Having said that the Veda are concerned with actions done out of a desire for particular benefits, Krishna gives here a simile by which to illustrate that assertion. As you can resort to a large reservoir of water for various objects, such as drinking, bathing &c., so if you look in the Veda, you will find there the means of accomplishing various purposes. You can perform the S'yaṇa-sacrifice, if you want to destroy an enemy. You can perform the Jyotiṣṭoma, if you want to attain to Heaven, and so on. In one word, a man can find in the Veda the means of accomplishing various desires of one class, as he can find in a large reservoir the means of accomplishing various desires of another class. But then, Krishna goes on to say, perform the actions prescribed, but do not entertain the desires.

Line 286—The argument as to the meaning of यज्ञयोग contained in the note on this line seems to me to derive further support from Stanza 50 (lines 289-291). There यज्ञ and योग must be taken to mean the same thing, as they do on S'ankar's interpretation. Otherwise we have to resort, as S'ridhar resorts, to the introduction of an idea which is not in the original. S'ridhar says वस्त्राचरणेण योग युक्तरः.

Lines 297-99—कृतिं which we have rendered by 'taint' may also mean 'snare.' योग्य and युक्त in line 299 are taken by Madhusudan to mean the fruit of actions about which you have heard or are to hear. This seems to be confirmed by S'ankar's interpretation of 'what thou hast heard' in the next line. Rāghavendra Yati, the dualistic commentator already once mentioned, takes कृति mean all actions whatever—कृत्यमेतद्बहुप्रयत्नः।

Line 308—Pleased in and by oneself. S'ankar says that this means enjoying happiness, independently of any external gains, in one's own self as परमात्मा; S'ridhar says as परमानन्दसत्त्वं which is substantially the same thing. Rāghavendra Yati says अत्मन्योऽपरमात्मन्ये रिक्तः सन् ददेकविदः समिति यागत्। अत्ममा परमात्मना तत्प्राप्नेत्यर्थः। तुष्टः संशोधयुक्तः॥

Line 386—The active senses are speech, hands, feet, &c. See Thomson's Gita p. 22n.

Line 396—Spiritual is a word which I have adopted here, simply in order to avoid a long periphrasis, not because कृति is an accurate rendering of the original यज्ञार्थ. The sacrifice here appears to mean the daily offerings to and worship of the Deities which would fall within the नियत कर्म or 'action prescribed' spoken of in line 392.

Line 409—Compare Manu. III. 118.

Line 415—As to मध्यम् it should be १००० x m mb + १

that in कर्मस्यहर Mr. Thomson does not understand that word in the same sense as in विद्युत्यज्ञान.

Line 429—Compare Is'opanishad Stanza 2.

Line 485—In support of the commentator's interpretation of the word 'this' here, we may refer to Gita VI. 33-4 and XI. 45, 46, where the construction is somewhat similar. There is first a general expression, as to which we do not know exactly the specific thing to which it is to be applied, and then in the next Stanza we are introduced to that specific thing.

Line 488—On further consideration I am not satisfied with the rendering of the word वास्तव in the text. The lines should run thus:—

Knowledge is enveloped by this constant foe—  
This foe, Desire—of men of knowledge, who  
Oh Kunti's son! is like a fire, and who  
■ never filled.

वास्तवा॒टि means 'this enemy in the shape of desire.' This is the interpretation countenanced by the commentators, and it appears to me more appropriate than the one adopted in the text from Meghadüt St. IV. The last lines with a similar correction might run thus:

And do thou by thyself restrain thyself,  
And, Large-armed one! destroy this enemy—  
The enemy, Desire—who is hard to tame.

Line 504—Manu ■ the first man of the Solar dynasty of Indian kings. Ikshvāku was one of his descendants and one of the ancestors of the hero of the Rāmāyaṇ.

Lines 531-2—The meaning of these lines, as the commentators say, ■ that God confers favours having regard to what ■ asked of him. To those who ask for worldly fruit, he gives that; to those who want final emancipation he gives

that. The favours conferred are in conformity with the prayers with which men "come to me." For the latter part of the passage, compare Gita VII. 22 and IX. 23 (lines 973; 1180). The meaning ■ that, to whomsoever the prayers may ■ addressed in name, they really go to Vishnu in the end.

**Lines 535-6**—This is contrasted with the fruit of knowledge. The fruit of action is worldly good, which ■ got much sooner than the fruit of knowledge, namely, final emancipation.

**Lines 552-555**—The meaning of this is that the actions which ordinary people suppose to be a man's actions are really not his, that is to say, not of the soul. Comp. Chap. IV. lines 661 *et seq.* When there are no external marks of action, when ordinary people think a man to be utterly inactive, then is the real time of the activity of the soul. Compare also Chap. II. 353 for another aspect of much the same fact.

**Line 567—गत्वा**. I have rendered it by envy, following Madhusūdana. It may also mean simply enmity ■ others, as the other commentators render it.

**Line 570**—Wholly free = free from the bonds of virtues and other actions (S'ankar); from attachment to worldly things &c. (S'rīdhara); from a false notion of oneself being the doer in all one's worldly actions (Madhusūdana, and compare lines 457 *et seq.*); from the false notion identifying oneself with the body &c. or from the false notion of one's own independence (Rāghavendra).

**Line 573**—There are some differences between the several interpretations proposed of this passage, but it is unnecessary to set them out here. The last line means that the act of offering is also Brahma—ब्रह्म तस्मैन् &c. (S'ankar).

**Line 579**—Rāghavendra takes the meaning of this line to be that they offer up all their actions to Vishnu, knowing

every thing ■ rest on him, and abandoning the notion of their own freedom. According to S'ankar, the ultimate meaning is that they are always meditating on the unity of Brahma and Atma, of the Supreme and the individual Soul. S'ridhar's meaning ■ that they 'destroy' their 'yajna', or sacrifice and all other actions, by means of the 'yajna' described in lines 573 ■ seq.

Line 583—'Sound and others' means, शब्दः, रूपः, स्फुरणः, गतिः—the five qualities of things which are perceived by the five senses of hearing, touch, sight, taste, and smell. The expression, of course, stands for all worldly objects.

Line 587—In speaking of penance &c. ■ the 'offering', there is of course a figure involved. Penance and the rest stand in the position of the offering in the 'yajna' or sacrifice which the persons referred to perform, the yajna meaning the act or acts performed as worship of the Supreme Being. Doing penance, studying the Veds &c., are thus among the modes of worshipping the Supreme Being adopted by different persons. Knowledge here is interpreted by S'ankar to mean knowledge of the meaning of the S'astras. S'ridhar takes वेदाग्रामान् to be one idea—namely knowledge of the meaning of the Veds acquired by a study of them. See Manu III. 134.

Line 595—The winds are the winds said to exist within the body. Raghavendra says the first word 'winds' means the operations of the senses, the second the senses themselves. He takes the passage to mean that they contract the workings of the senses, and adds, 'the meaning being that the senses are reduced in their strength by limited food.' He proposes an alternative rendering :—प्राणान्तराधिनिदेयदेवान्मनःप्रभूयु-  
त्तमर्दशापीनारथायन्त्रिष्यते: अस्मिन्पैषे भवत्युद्दान्वेन निष्ठासारः पृथग्यज्ञो मान्यः

Line 600—Compare Manu. III. 285.

Line 606—The superiority is owing to the fact, says S'ankar, that the sacrifice of knowledge leads to no fruit—i. e. such fruit as will bind one down to regeneration &c., but only to final emancipation.

Lines 671-2—The word केवल (mere) must be connected, according to S'ankar, with 'body, mind, and resolution' as well as with 'senses' though grammatically connected with 'senses' only. It signifies the absence of identification of oneself with any of these. The actions are done mechanically, but without the belief that they are one's own.

Lines 679-84—The Lord (प्रभु) means भास्या or देवि according to S'ankar. But this only in line 679, and the footnote on line 683 should therefore not be there. Rāghavendra adopts this meaning in both places, saying अत्मसेव्य प्रभुः समर्थो देविः. S'rīdhār takes it to refer to the Deity. Action or agency—The Deity is not himself the author of human actions nor is he the cause impelling men to act. In the next line is stated the fact that the Deity has nothing to do with the acceptance of the good or evil acts of his worshippers. The popular notion that God is pleased with the good acts of his worshippers and condones their evil ones is unfounded. These notions are the result of ignorance—'thence do all beings err.' We may add, that this idea of Deity is, in some respects, similar to that which is beginning to commend itself ■ some of the foremost scientific intellects of our own day.

Line 692—A Chāpḍāl ■ the meanest class in Hindu society. See too Mādhab S'ankar Vijaya VI. 29 et. seq.

Lines 714-5—Mr. Thomson omits अन्तःसुख and अन्तरामः from his translation. The distinction seems to be that between happiness and amusement. The commentators render अन्तराम by रङ्ग—sport or diversion.

Lines 724-5—Excludes the objects of the senses.

The exclusion is of course ceasing to think of them, expelling them from one's thoughts. For objects of the senses, the word here is स्पर्श, objects of touch, but it signifies the objects of the other senses as well.

Line 747—To him who has reached devotion, tranquillity is a means, says our text. But for what? आत्मारिपादे say S'ridhar and Madhusudan; मुकियनमुक्तयनीश्वरस्य says Rāghavendra. These substantially agree, as meaning—for the acquisition of the next state, that of perfected knowledge or final emancipation. S'ankar, however, says वीदारुहत्वस्य अधनमुच्यते इत्यर्थः, which I do not quite understand.

Line 754—आत्म in this line is rendered by S'ridhar to mean the soul which is free from connexion with mind &c. Rāghavendra has the following येन आत्मना येन जीवेनि समानविकरणं च यैन जीवेन कर्त्ता (ती in Ma.). आत्मना तु द्वजा कर्त्तव्येन व्यभिकरणं च आत्मा मनःजीवेन वशीकृतं तस्याभ्यन्ते जीवरथ आत्मा मनः कन्त्रोरेतोरक्षेये भग्यदद्वचानोपयोगीनि वावत् ॥

Line 760—एतद्वजा सम्प्रवाहितः शुद्धं संनेत्रितौ भवति व्याविषयो भूता परीक्षावरयो भवत्त्वर्थः—Rāghavendra.

Line 772 *et seq.*—Compare S'vetā's vataropanishad II., 10. The Kus'-grass is well known as being regarded as sacred by our people.

Line 818—विरिष्मयेनसा (instead of भौतिष्मयेनसा as we have taken it) is intelligible, though I think it should not be construed as Mr. Thomson seems to construe it. The meaning with that word would be—that devotion should be resolutely practiced by one with a mind indifferent (to worldly objects).

Line 843—Exists in me—compare line 1202. S'ankar says it means, that there is no obstacle to his final emancipation. 'However living,' Rāghavendra says this means whether righteously or unrighteously—the man of knowledge being

sure of final emancipation though he behave unrighteously.

Line 851-2—दृढ़ (obstinate) S'ankar renders by तनुमता-  
दक्षेयम्, S'riddhar by विषयवासनानुभवम् (? क) तथा दुर्भेयम्. Rāghavendra  
by विषयवासनानुविद्धनय दुर्भेद सामूहित्यये नेत्रगच्छम्. Madhusūdana by  
विषयवासनात्तदस्यूनतय नेत्रगच्छम्.

Line 908 *et seq.*—As to this see the note further on  
about the three Qualities.

Line 921—‘Om’ is the well known mystic particle so  
variously explained; see too line 1045. Sound, according to  
Hindu philosophers, is a function of space (आवश्यकाशम्).

Line 931—The use of the strength, says S'ankar, is  
merely the support of the body &c. S'riddhar says it is the  
strength (characterized by the quality of Sattva or Goodness)  
for performing one's duty.

Line 938—In the note पराये: ought to be preceded by  
भौः. Rāghavendra agrees with S'ankar. Greater than they  
means greater than the qualities—superior to and untouched  
by them; compare line 1833. As to line 941-2, ‘the result of  
the qualities’ see the note on the Qualities on Chap. XIV.

Line 1007—प्रभात. The rendering of this word by  
'change' is exceptionable, as suggesting a difference between  
the Brahma and the Adhyātma which does not seem to be  
intended. Brahma in its relations to the body &c. is called  
Adhyātma. Rāghavendra explains स्वभाव thus स्वभावे भावम्  
सदैकरूपेण इति न वेति स्वभावः. The offering is, according to  
Rāghavendra, an act of the Deity. As to development  
S'riddhar cites भावित्याक्षारं गते तु एवः &c. भरोभावः might, pos-  
sibly, as stated in the note, correspond to स्वभावः (स्वी भावः) and mean 'perishable form.' This would to a certain extent  
agree with Mr. Thoson's view. But the clause does not  
come immediately after स्वभावेभावमध्युत्त्वं—and this makes it

difficult to take that clause in to assist the construction of भरो मात्; when an unexceptionable meaning can be derived in another way.

**Line 1017—Form**—particular form of the Supreme Being. देवनविशेष says S'ankar, and S'riddhar and Madhusūdana follow him. Rāghavendra says य यसि भावं ददायेम्. S'riddhar and Madhusūdana agree with this also, by adding भूत्यमारिता and भूत्यसाधि यस्तिक्षित् after देवनविशेष.

**Line 1025—Devotion** of repeated thought, is the concentration of mind on one object uninterrupted by thoughts of any other object. Rāghavendra agrees with S'riddhar as to the meaning of विग्रह here.

**Line 1037 et seq.**—Compare Kaṭhopaniṣad. II. 15.

**Line 1045—Compare** Manu II. 83.

**Line 1061 et seq.**—Compare Manu I. 73. 'All perceptible things' signifies every thing in the world. 'The unperceived' is the Prakṛiti. Comp. Gītā IX. 8 (line 1120).

**Line 1071—“Which is perceived.”** This rendering is based on अन्यो व्यक्तिव्यक्तात् being not equivalent to अन्यः व्यक्तः अव्यक्तात्, but to अन्यः अव्यक्तः व्यक्तात्. S'ankar, and S'riddhar, and Madhusūdana also, however adopt the former construction and take अव्यक्तात् to refer to “the unperceived,” (अव्यक्त) spoken of just before. I find, however, that Rāghavendra has adopted the other view.

**Line 1076—As to वाम** Rāghavendra agrees with S'riddhar, and though S'ankar renders it by वृत्ति, still S'riddhar's is probably the most suitable meaning here.

**Line 1106—Not opposed to law** = i. e. not unrighteous like the S'yaṇ-sacrifice, says S'ankar; that sacrifice being one performed for the purpose of destroying one's foe. Directly knowable i. e. like happiness, says S'ankar. Not hard to practise = not hard to acquire, or learn.

Line 1122—A Kalpa is a vast period of time which measures the duration of the Universe. The beginning of a Kalpa is when the world is created. When the Kalpa ends, the world is destroyed and there is a fresh creation again.

Line 1134—Asurs and Rakshases are demons.

Line 1144—Working=मरुष्यते कर्त्ता दुर्विषः Rāghavendra.

Line 1148—इतरः देवाद्यवृथाप्रत्यक्ष्यकलापस्यक्षयोत्पत्तिमात्रः ॥ यद्युद्धे देवोदेवेन द्रव्यन्यग्रहं प्राप्तं ॥ तु देवाद्यवृथामान्वरिश्चैषभूरेन मेही त्रैयः Rāghavendra.

Line 1156—Rik, Sām, and Yajus, are the three Veds.

Line 1166—The som-juice is a rather intoxicating drink taken at certain sacrifices.

Line 1187—The Bhūtas are a separate class of super-human beings; विनाशकमालयोदयः say the commentators.

Line 1222—For पितृपात्र. Compare Kātiopanishad I. 16.

Line 1234—आतः पत्नैः says Rāghavendra, which would mean qualities.

Line 1236—The seven sages are well known. They are identified with the constellation Ursa Major. Sanak and the rest are four holy personages generally mentioned together, of whom Sanatkumār appears in the Chihūndogyopanishad as teacher of Nārad. Each of the fourteen Manus presides over a period of the world's life called Manvantar.

Line 1251—भास्माकारस्थः is rendered by भास्माकारात्मःकरणदृक् विषयतेन ३४५; in Madhusūdana's commentary, and by तदीश्चित्तदृक् विषयः in Rāghavendra's.

Line 1259—As to Asit and Deval, see Müller's Sanskrit Literature p. 463; and Kera's Brīhatśāmhitā, Pref. 41.

Line 1276—हन्. Compare Kātiopanishad V. 6.

Line 1284—Marichi is the name of one of the Maruts—the Winds, or Storm Gods as Max Müller calls them. The Nakshatras are what are called the Lunar Mansions. Vāsas

Indra the king of the Gods. The Lord of Wealth is Kubera. There are eight Vasus. Meru is the Golden mountain. Brihaspati is the priest of the Gods. Skanda is the War-God. Bhṛigu is one of the seven Rishis. The Aśvattha is the Peepul Tree. Gandharvas are the heavenly choristers.

**Line 1304**—The perfect ones, Śankar says, are those who even from birth are possessed of the highest piety, knowledge, indifference to worldly good, and superhuman power (परमानन्दार्थैर्विमुक्तिरूपम्). It would be better, to retain the original word 'Siddhas' here, as in lines 1440 and 1444, reading 'Among the Siddhas, I—Am &c.'

**Line 1306**—Uchchaisravas is the horse of Indra. Airāvat is his elephant. The thunderbolt is his weapon, the Vajra. Kāndheera is the cow of plenty. Vāsuki and Ananta are the chiefs of the snakes and Nāgs. The Nāgs, according to Śridhar, are the serpents without poison. Varup is Neptune, the God of the ocean. Yam is King Death. Prallāl is the Abstinent of Hindu mythology, the virtuous demon to save whom Vishnu became incarnate as the Man-lion.

**Line 1317**—Rāghavendra has the following on this somewhat obscure line कलयतामाकलयता वृष्णादि कुर्वन्ते वा कालः कलशान इति भास्त्रः सर्वमाकलयतीनि कालः—In the last line of the foot-note °को क्षयः must be of course °कोऽक्षयः. The meaning of Śridhar's gloss is that in line 1330, Time absolutely is spoken of; in this line, Time divided into years, months, and so forth.

**Line 1320**—पृथिव्या is also rendered by देशवास्त्र in Rāghavendra's commentary.

**Line 1322**—Jāñnavi is the Ganges.

**Lines 1328-9**—As to the letter A, see Introductory Essay p. LV. The Dvandva is selected because, as Śridhar points out, all the parts of it are co-ordinate with each other (उभयपदव्येष्वधनः). 'I alone am Time Eternal' does not ac-

curately convey the meaning of the original. The meaning is "Eternal Time also is nothing but myself."

Line 1334—नौर्यांशः वैष्णवस्थाः लिपः says S'ridhar. It need scarcely be said that Fame &c. are personified here.

Line 1337—The Ghyatri is the metre in which that mystic stanza is composed—सत्सन्तुर्वेष्यम् &c. As to the Mārgas'īrsha<sup>4</sup> mouth—November—December—see the Introductory Essay P. CXI. The commentators do not explain why Kṛishṇa identifies himself with the "game of dice," among all the practices of "cheats." We can only infer, that it is regarded as the best mode of gaming for one who wants to cheat his opponent. The Vrishnis are the family in which Kṛishṇa was born. Uśanas is the preceptor of the Demons, Śukra, one of whose names is Kavi, one who has discernment. The वैष्णवस्थान्तरिति is well-known.

Line 1348—Polity i. e. the due employment of the several modes of dealing with foes, such as trying to make up things amicably, trying to introduce dissensions into the enemy's camp, and so forth. As to silence, Madhusūdan after repeating S'ridhar's explanation गीवानो गीरमहेतुः adds गुप्तानो गीवानो मद्दै संसद्यतभक्तमनवृक्षमात्मो निरेभ्यासलक्षणं मौर्यं चाहस्रिम् || The latter interpretation is not quite clear. And to suit the former "mongst secrets" ought perhaps, to be "for secrets."

Line 1357—निभूतिम् S'ridhar renders by ऐश्वर्यकम्, भीमम् by संगतियुक्तम्, and अवैनम् by केनापि ग्रभात्यजादेना गुणनानिश्चयितम्. Rāghavendra has respectively सञ्जनिनः येषांतेरय्, संगुकम् and अभिवृद्धगुरुतम्.

Line 1381—The As'vins are the physicians of the Gods.

Line 1441—The Sādhyas are mentioned in Manu I. 23. The Vis'vas are the so-called Vis'vedevs, the Ushnuaps are the manes. In line 1461, the charioteer's son is Karna.

Line 1507—Compare Manu. I. 11.

Line 1522—Yādav, is descendant of Yādu, one of the sons of Yayāti, a famous king of the Lunar dynasty.

Line 1592-93—Rāghavendra says दूरस्य कुटे भयाकृताक्षी अभिशून्यः स्थितं कर्वति सुदाममधुलालचक्रं भ्रुवं निर्विकारम्.

Line 1635—Free from distress. S'ankar renders the original of this, by गन्धयः; free from fear; and S'ridhar by भाबिशून्यः; free from mental pain; Madhusūdana says पै-स्ताड्युपानस्थापि मता नोसत्ता पीडा यस्य सः; one who does not feel pain even when beaten by others; Rāghavendra says परकृतारकारै-रप्राप्तममःरेतः; one who feels no mental pain at injuries done.

Line 1639—शुभाकुम (good and ill) is rendered by S'rīlhar to mean गुणात्, merit and sin. See line 316.

Line 1651—I have thought it better to retain the word Kshetra here than to render it by any inadequate equivalent. S'ankar says:—इत्प्राणाणां (?) पाप्त्वरजात्पैषवद्वास्यन्कर्मफलभिर्वैतेः सेवम्. S'ridhar इति भौगोलयनं श्वरीरं देवमित्यभिर्वैपते संसारस्य प्रतीक्षूभिर्वित्तात्. Madhusūdana, सर्वरेत्यादिमत्तस्तुकृदर्क्ष्याः कठस्य निर्वैतेः. Rāghavendra इति शरीरात्मकम्-ईकारातिकं भगवदावाक्यात्पात्तिक्षी ईक्षीपतेह भगवतेऽपि व्युत्पत्त्यं सेवमित्यभिर्वैपै. —It may be interesting to transcribe here the opening of Rāghavendra's comment on this Chapter. He says तूर्द्धसीकार्यसंप्रवर्तय-मृप्यायः ॥ तथाह पत्त्वपत्त्वै त्रैगुण्यमित्य वैता इत्यादिना प्राचुर्येण साधनमापत्तसमा-द्विरुद्ध यज्ञ तत्त्वं हिन्दीपत्त्वाय न सिद्धात्मित्यादिना भवनादिनित्यादिनः जीवत्पृष्ठमुक्तं पत्त्व (पत्त्व in Ms.) हिन्दीपत्त्वै भगवद्वक्ष्यमुक्तं यदारि सप्तमे भूमिरात् इत्यादिना द्विप्रत्याप्तिनं भगवदावासस्थानमुक्तं तद्विप्रकर्त्ता (कृष्ण?) वर्षोक्तं सर्वं वुद्गारोऽर्थं संक्षिप्तादिम-क्षये प्रथमूर्त्ते प्रदर्शयते प्रसूतीमन्तर्विना. These last words refer to the following stanza, with which this Chapter begins in the copy of Rāghavendra, though it is not in our copies.

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चेव क्षेत्रं क्षेवत्त्वमेत च ।

एवंहुंडिनुमिच्छमि द्वाने द्वेयं च केशात् ॥

It may be mentioned that Mr. Thomson refers to this stanza.

Line 1660—जन्मेभिर्मौर्ये: is rendered to mean in each of the Vedic *Prākharanadīva* जन्मामव्याप्ति is not explained

Line 1663—The ten senses are the five senses of action referred to before, and the five senses of perception, hearing &c. For body, the original is संजन which S'ridhar renders by शरीर, S'ankar by शरीरस्यां संजने, and Raghavendra by शरीर. For courage, the original is धृति, thus rendered by S'ankar:—प्रयात्सादं प्राप्नोति देवेन्द्रियाणि धृतिं, that by which the body and senses are supported when drooping. Hatred, &c. are mentioned here to show that they do not reside in the soul, the Kshetrajna, but in the mind.

Line 1669—Ostentation i. e. of one's own piety and so forth; firmness is strict adherence to the path of final emancipation alone. S'ankar says as to 'perception of the evil &c.', that the evil to be observed in birth is the living in the womb and coming out of it; of old age, the loss of one's intellectual and physical powers. On the alternative interpretation mentioned in the footnote, the meaning would be 'perception of the evil, namely the unhappiness, of birth, death, &c.' S'ridhar's suggestion is also adopted by Raghavendra. Absence of vanity &c. are included under knowledge as being useful and necessary for its acquisition.

Line 1687—That which is, (क्ष.) according to Raghavendra, is the collection of effects (महाभित्तकारीभावम्) that is to say the collection of worldly objects—in fact the created universe. That which is not (परत्) is the great cause of the universe called the Unseen (भव्यक्षमित्तवकारणम्). This would mean that the Brahma is neither Prakriti nor any of its developments. Raghavendra also cites the following Smriti मूर्त्युनैवपश्चीत्वाऽन्त सत्त्वाऽप्युद्यते As to 'possessed of all the qualities' &c. compare the Vedio text. 'He sees without eyes, he hears without ears' (पश्यत्यच्छुः स ब्रह्मोऽपर्णः). Raghavendra proposes another rendering. He says सर्वार्थान्तरधारणि गुणान् नादर्गीविषयाभासमन्ते गग्नामव गग्नेन ते 'Unattached' सर्वसंबोधनं क

तम् says S'ridhar. 'Their supporter'—this is the rendering of S'ridhar who paraphrases भौत्ये by पञ्चक्. S'ankar says it means वाचस्पति 'that which perceives'. 'Not different &c.' S'ankar says "It is one in all bodies like space, but it appears — if it were different in different creatures." S'ridhar says कारणात्मनापिन्नं कार्यात्मना विभक्तं भिन्नामित्र स्थितं च समुद्राद्वजां फेनादि समुद्रादन्यत्वं भवनि—which means that the various manifestations by themselves are different, but considered with reference to their material cause they are all one. Foam is different from ordinary sea water as a different form of water; but substantially they are one. So different creatures are different when seen as individuals, but they are one when we see that they are all Brahma in their essence.

Line 1703—Knowledge—calling Brahma itself knowledge is rather singular. Raghavendra says ज्ञानं प्रकाशस्वरूपम्. S'ankar says ज्ञानममाननिधादि and Anandagiri explains that by adding अ-प्रश়ঁসনात্মयেতि होः, so that ज्ञान means not knowledge itself but the absence of vanity &c. by which it is acquired.

Line 1726—S'ankar says 'Meditation means the absorption of all the senses, such as that of hearing &c., into the mind, after their withdrawal from their objects, and the fixing of the mind exclusively on the soul. In themselves means in the जुटि, the faculty of fixed resolution; by themselves=by the internal organ polished and refined by meditation. Sankhyayog is the belief that the three Qualities are different from the soul, which is the passive supervisor of their operations, of a different nature from them, and changeless. Karma-yog is performance of action in the belief that it is all offered unto the Supreme Being.'

Line 1745—S'ankar understands this to mean that the man sees everything — आत्मा, the supreme soul. Raghavendra takes 'existing in' as equivalent to 'being supported by',

Madhusüdhan agrees with Śankar, explaining दित्य by कर्मण.

Line 1752—Though all-pervading. The commentators instance the case of mud by which space is never stained. 'All bodies,' Śridhar explains to mean good, middling, and bad bodies. Rāghavendra says नीत्योचारदर्शे.

Line 1759—Release of beings &c. Rāghavendra says this refers to the abovementioned means of final emancipation by which the soul is released from the elements and from Prakriti or Nature; or to the means of final emancipation by which souls are released from the inanimate Prakriti.

Line 1760—I had originally intended to treat the subject of the three qualities at some length. But under the circumstances I prefer to make only the following few observations upon it. It is clear enough that the three qualities indicate three different classes of living creatures, the differences being stated at length in this Chapter XIV. What is not so clear is how the combination of these three qualities into a whole in which they are in equilibrium comes to be identified with Prakriti (प्रकृत्यस्यात् साक्षात् प्रकृतिः). According to the view of Prof. Wilson and other writers on the Sāṅkhya Philosophy, Prakriti is matter—matter in an undeveloped state. Now in what sense dead matter is identical with Goodness, Badness, and Indifference combined, it is rather difficult to see. On the other hand, if we take matter to be living matter, as containing, to borrow the language of Prof. Tyndall, "the promise and potency of life," the doctrine becomes somewhat more intelligible though still difficult to realize. Professor Bhāskar, however, suggests a very different view of Prakriti, as he holds that the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is in its essence what, in the terminology of modern English philosophy, would be called Idealism. And according to him, therefore, Prakriti is the hypothetical

cause of the soul's feeling itself limited and conditioned. I must refer to Prof. Bhāskarākār's Essay itself for a clear and full exposition of this theory. It does, to a considerable extent, explain the difficulties which arise upon the other hypothesis. And it will be found, I think, that none of the passages in which Prakriti is mentioned in the Gītā will present any difficulty of explanation on this theory.

As to the renderings of the three names of the qualities, I need scarcely say, that I do not consider them at all satisfactory. But Goodness and Badness are the usual names for सत्त्व and तमस्; and रजस्, as the middle stage between the two, may, perhaps, be allowably rendered by Indifference. I have borrowed the words from Mr. Thomson with an alteration. Prof. Bhāskarākār renders रजस् by Passion which is a more suggestive rendering. There is also a difference of opinion as to whether यज् here means quality or fetter.

**Line 1764—**Assume my qualities=Come into my essence ममत्वस्तु तत्त्वामागतः says Sankar. Suffer pain = do not fall down says Sankar; तु नैव जीवने says S'ridhar, and on this our footnote is based. The contrast, however, between being born at the creation, and this expression, might, perhaps be held to indicate a different sort of pain than that of further birth, e. g. the pain accompanying a destruction of the world.

**Line 1780—**Charmed,=being enamoured of anything.

**Line 1790—**The meaning of this sentence is that each of the qualities produces the effects abovementioned, when the other two are repressed by it and it predominates.

**Line 1806—**We have given in the footnotes the two senses proposed for the word 'highest.' Rāghavendra takes it to mean Vishṇu, or the Supreme Being.

**Line 1809—**मृद्युण्णेन् तु, says Sankar, means among beasts

&c. Rāghavendra says it means among demons &c. कर्मसिद्धि he says, means among men. In the next line, 'they say' is interpreted by Śridhar to refer to Kapil and others.

Line 1821—The seer, is ईश. Rāghavendra renders it by जीवः, S'ankar by विद्यान्, and Śridhar by विदेशी. 'That which is above the qualities' is the soul.

Line 1825—ऐतमुद्गतान्—चक्रवृत्तगरिणामदेहे प्रकटीभूतान् (Rāghavendra). For the other rendering see lines 1718 ■ seq.

Line 1845—After this a line has been omitted which should run thus :—He's said to be beyond the qualities.

Line 1859—'I' here must mean the man Kṛishṇa.

Line 1852—S'ankar thinks that this passage describes क्लेश or the course of worldly life. With him agree Śridhar and Madhusūdana. Rāghavendra says it describes the बगस्त्रकृत. A full explanation of the passage must be seen in the various commentaries. We only summarize them:—

As'vattha, Sankar and the other commentators explain to mean 'what will not remain even to-morrow in the same state' (न चैति स्थास्यने). Its roots are above, that is to say the Supreme Being is its root; its boughs are the lesser beings Hiranyagarbha &c., (according to some) Mahat, Ahankār and the other great elements (according to others.) The Chandas or Veds are its leaves—to preserve the world as the leaves preserve the tree, says S'ankar. They are the causes of the fruit (salvation, and worldly good) says Rāghavendra, for in this world we find leaves first and fruits afterwards. Śridhar says that the fruits of acts are the shade of the tree which everybody requires and that is afforded by the Veds. Upwards and downwards—from the highest of created things, as we may say, to the lowest (ब्रह्मदिस्यागरान्). Here S'aukar seems to render branches by the fruits of knowledge and action. "By the qualities enlarged" ■ explained only by Madhusūdana,

who takes it to refer to the manifestations of the qualities in the form of body, senses, worldly objects &c. Objects of sense are sprouts — they are attached to the senses which are as it were the tips of the branches. The roots which extend downwards are the desires for different enjoyments. These are the minor roots, the main root being already described to be the Deity. Here i. e. by those who are living in this world. 'Thus' means as described above. यज्ञे which we have rendered 'thinking that one rests,' Rāghavendra takes to stand for यज्ञेत "one should resort to or take shelter with"— avowedly violating the grammatical construction.

**Line 1871**—Compare line 1682 as to Adhyātma.

**Line 1894**—S'ankar thus supplies the ellipses in the thoughts between this line and line 1877. When Kṛishṇa says that one who goes to Viśhvā's seat never returns, the question arises how can this be when all going is to end in returning ( सर्वं हि गतिरागमयन्ता ). The answer is that the individual soul being a part of the supreme soul, it may well go to its fountain-head and never return. Then the difficulty arises how does the soul go at all from its fountain-head. That is obviated by saying that it is the connection with the mind &c. which occasions this. To the next question—when does this occur—the answer is given in the words "whencever the soul &c." Then having stated that this truth is known only to some persons, not to all, he comes back from the digression.

**Line 1897**—Entering the earth—in the form of the Goddess Earth, say Ānandagiri and Madhusūdana. Support i. e., by keeping the earth from falling down or from crumbling away. One of the moon's names — शीष्मेष्टा—Lord of herbs. The fourfold food is that which — drunk, that which is licked, that which is powdered by means of the teeth, and that which — eaten without such powdering.

Line 1904—Reasoning. The original is असेवन which the commentators unanimously interpret to mean destruction scil. of memory and knowledge. But I cannot think that this meaning is quite appropriate. There is nothing suitable to the context in saying that the destruction of knowledge is occasioned by the Supreme Being. On the other hand असेवन is a common expression for discussion, reasoning pro and con, and I think we may adopt that meaning here.

Line 1906—The author of the Vedānta. This means, according to Śankar, the first expositor of the meaning of the Vedāntas (Upanishads, I suppose) current in tradition वैशान्तर्यार्थसंवाप्तप्रत्यक्षक. Śridhar agrees; and so does Madhusūdana, adding वैद्यनासादस्मै. Rāghavendra says वैशानामन्तो निर्णयो यस्मात्स वैदानः वैष्णवसंतर्मेस्तस्य चात्मस्मैषु रूपेण कर्त्ता.

Line 1919—The unconcerned one. Śankar says पुरुषोऽधर्मस्त्रियरीते भगवतो मायाशक्तिः भरतस्य पुरुषस्योत्तन्त्रैवमनेकसंतारजिन्नुकामकर्मादिसंसरकाराधयोऽधर्मः पुरुष उच्यते. Unconcerned is one rendering of कुरुत्य. It may also mean, according to the commentators, delusive. Madhusūdana says कैविनु भरताभ्यनैतनर्थमुच्छ्वा कूटस्थोऽधर उच्यते इत्यनेन बोयादुः ॥ तत्र सम्यक् । ऐव इत्यर्थेन पुरुषोत्तमलेन गणित्याग्नात् ॥ नस्मात्क्षराक्षरश्च-भूम्या कार्यकारणोगायो उभावपि लक्ष्यनेऽक्षयेन इत्येवं पुरुषम्. The two Beings are thus the whole collection of things in the world, and the material cause of them. The Deity is a totally different principle. See Śvetāśvataraopanishad p. 294 (Bibl. Ind. Ed.)

Line 1922—सर्वभवित्. (Every way) might be taken to mean with all one's heart. That is very nearly the meaning of the corresponding Marathi expression.

Line 1927—Knowledge i. e. of the soul by study of the S'astras; sacrifice is the Dars'apitrpamās &c.; study is study of the Veds. For Renunciation see the next chapter.

Line 1949—Spoken of scil. according to Madhusūdana, in the descriptions of the man of steady mind (Chap. II.) the

devotee (Chap. XII.) the man of knowledge (Chap. XIII.) and the man who transcends the Qualities (Chap. XIV.) S'ankar refers to the list at the beginning of the chapter.

Line 1936—No truth = nothing that is entitled to be believed, such as Veds, Purâns &c. say S'rîdhâr and Madhusûdan. Fixed principle = वर्णीपर्याप्तता say the commentators i. e. no principle based on virtue and vice, according to which the affairs of the world are governed. भारतरसंभूतम् the commentators interpret this to mean produced by the union of male and female. But it is difficult to be satisfied with this. I have followed the rendering of Mr. Thomson, though it is by no means without its own difficulties. For 'without connexions mutual', Mr. Thomson has "arisen in certain succession." नष्टमानः, which we have rendered by "of ruined souls," S'rîdhâr renders by मरीमसच्चाः, of impure mind; and S'ankar and Madhusûdan say नष्टमादा विनष्टप्रलोकताधनाः.

Line 1992—Hurl into demoniac wombs i. e. according to the commentators, they are born as tigers, snakes &c.

Line 1997—Ruinous to the soul i. e., according to S'ankar, rendering the soul unfit for any of the highest ends of human beings; according to S'rîdhâr, leading to birth in a lower order of living beings.

Line 2007—सिद्धि in the Gîtâ means final emancipation (मोक्ष); or refinement, the being fitted for a higher stage of life.

Line 2020—Yakshas = Kuber &c.; Rakahases = Nirriti &c. Anandagiri.

Line 2081—Comp. line 1045 and Manu II. 83. By that i. e. the designation, says S'ankar. S'rîdhâr suggests the alternative 'by the Brahma' which I prefer. For this i. e. for penance, sacrifice &c., or for Brahma (S'ankar.) The connexion of this passage with what goes before is stated by S'rîdhâr. He says, that as it would appear that all acts of penance &c. are

either bad or indifferent, this passage shows how they may attain the quality of goodness. I must say, however, that I do not understand this passage clearly.

Line 2049—Conditions—the original is कारणी, causes. On agent (कर्ता) S'ridhar has निद्राविहान्यरक्षकः—egoism or self-consciousness formed of the union of chit and achit. Line 2053 refers to those who, not understanding that the soul is not among the five things necessary for action, think it to be the doer of all the acts of a human being (Compare line 445.) The stain on the intellect is the feeling ‘I have done this, I shall enjoy the fruit of it’ (Line 2037) and so forth.

Line 2215—Desire here means desire for carnal pleasures.

Line 2240—Nature here may be either the great principle प्रकृति or माय, which is made up of the three qualities in equilibrium, or it may mean the respective natures of Brhma, &c. In the latter case, the qualities are the causes of the natures. (S'ankar.)

Line 2304—See Kathopanishad II. 6, 17 and S'veta-s'vatar III., 13.

